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Archaic Egyptian Falcons

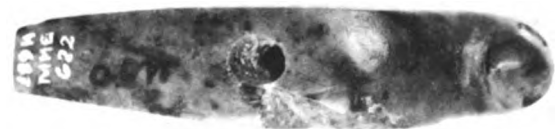
Bengt Peterson

At the close of the predynastic period in Egypt, the design of animal forms in stone and other materials is of a compact and abstract type. The animals are rendered in a simplified way, which makes a great appeal to the modern connoisseur of Egyptian art, who today often has as his background a profound feeling for the now classic, abstract tradition in European sculpture or who knows from experience the beauty of archaic Chinese jades. This end-product of the long, creative experiments of the Negadeh II civilisation is of short duration only. At the beginning of the 1st dynasty, there is almost immediately a tendency to more realistic representations, more and more accentuated. In this paper, some stages of this development will be shown with the aid of a group of small falcon sculptures which can be dated by parallels and of a falcon sculptured on an object bearing an inscription, which helps to fix a point in this transitional period at a certain date.

In many excavations in Middle Egypt small falcon sculptures have turned up, from both graves and settlements¹. They are usually very small and are mostly made of stones, often semiprecious stones; others are made of bone, glazed faience or metal. Many of them have a pierced body, as if intended to be used as beads. There is no exclusive explanation of their use. They may be amulets, ceremonial objects or *ex votos*; they have even been interpreted as gamingpieces². Probably they had manifold uses. Some of the larger ones have a hole made from below, as if intended to be mounted on a stand. One example of a large falcon has two holes made from below, perhaps for loose legs to be inserted.³ They date from the Negadeh II period, (SD 44-64 and 77-78 are mentioned), but they continue into the 1st dynasty. The elegant shape of these falcons occurs also among the slate palettes⁴. Four examples in the Medelhavsmuseet will be presented here.

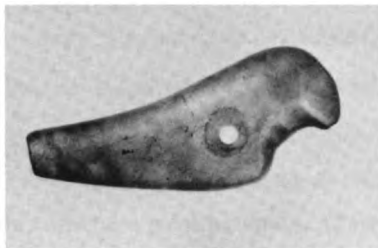
MME 1969:622. Acquired from a private collection in 1969.

Falcon of mottled green serpentine, l. 7.5 cm. The body is thick and has a cut-off tail. The head is finely curved and has two drilled holes for inlaid eyes, now lost. Underneath, there is a larger drilled hole. Slight damage on one side of the lower part of the body, at the tail and on top of the head.



MM 10534. Acquired from the Gayer-Anderson Collection in 1928.

Falcon of pale carnelian, l. 4.1 cm. Slender body with cut-off tail. The head is rendered in a simplified way by a flaking-off technique. The hole through the body is drilled from both sides. The beak is slightly damaged.



MM 10535. Acquired from the Gayer-Anderson Collection in 1928.

Falcon of dark carnelian, l. 3.0 cm. The body is short and slender with a cut-off tail. There is an attempt at plastic modelling of the head, with special emphasis on the beak, which is slightly damaged. The hole through the body was drilled from both sides. There is a minor damage on one side of the lower part of the body.



MM 15430. Acquisition date unknown.

Falcon of mottled green serpentine, l. 4.1 cm. Long, slender body with cut-off tail. There is an almost elaborate emphasis on the modelling of the head, which has a protruding beak. The hole through the body was drilled from both sides.



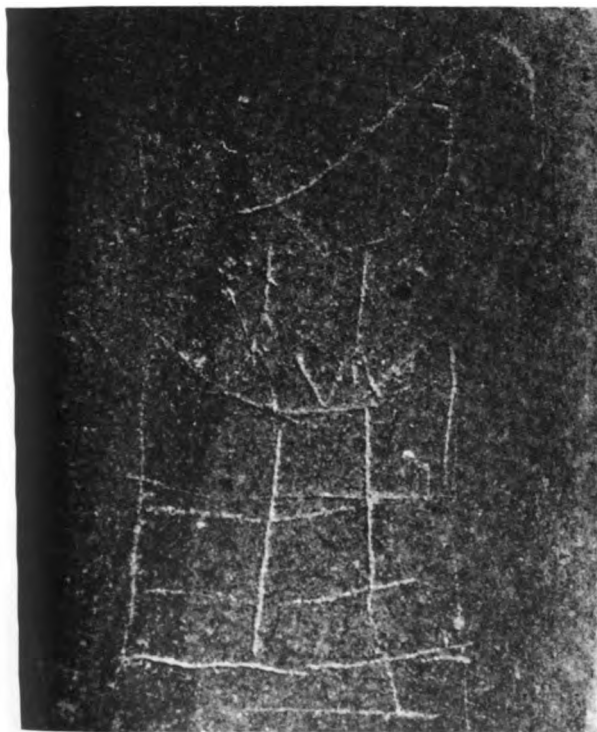
This group of falcons is generally considered to be products of the predynastic period, although there may be survivals of the designs in the 1st dynasty. It is difficult to date the individual items of this group exactly; some of them may be of the 1st dynasty, such as MM 10535 and MM 15430, with their more realistic details, which may be compared with dated, excavated items of the 1st dynasty⁵. The dating is also difficult because of the technical quality of the work. Thus, MM 10534, with its simplified shape, may be only an easier rendering of the more elaborate shapes of MM 10535 and MM 15430 and contemporary with them.

In all of the items presented, however, the abstract conception is strong. The individual details, the realistic trends in the modelling, are only added to the strict and compact figures. Now, this group will be compared with another falcon, which may be found on a schist object in the Medelhavsmuseet. This contains an inscription which presumably gives the date of the object. As it is of a very uncommon type, it will be described in detail.

MM 11391. Schist object. Acquired from the Gayer-Anderson Collection 1928.

Rectangular shape with smooth sides, h. 7.1 cm, w. 4.5 cm, th. 1.1 cm. As the lower edge is completely smooth, the object may be complete as it is and not a fragment. The upper and lower edges are slanting. Dominating the rectangular surface is a raised edge, which frames a sunken space on three sides. On the top of the object, there is a sculptured falcon seated. Its body is thick, its tail short and cut off. The head is plastically modelled, with finely detailed eyes and beak. The wings are rendered with sculptured and incised details, as are the talons on both sides of the object. This representation of the falcon is a well-known iconographical theme: the royal falcon on the palace façade, the *serekh*. The slanting of the façade is intentional, a peculiar but rare feature which has a symbolical meaning⁶. Seen from the short sides, the object is wedge-shaped, the top width being 1.1 cm and the bottom width 0.8 cm. The back is completely smooth.

In the framed part of the surface, there is an incised inscription, as well as some scratched, irregular lines. The inscription is the symbolical form of the king's name, common in the 1st dynasty, the name being crowned by standing falcon. The name itself is usually written in a *serekh*. Here we have to interpret the structure on which the falcon is standing as the name-



sign itself. It is possible to interpret this combination of vertical and horizontal strokes as a royal name. The only name in question is that of King Zer. The writing of his name shows a large variety of renderings. Its main feature, however, is the varying number of vertical and horizontal strokes⁷. This must, of course, remain a hypothesis but seems to be the most plausible explanation of this inscription. To give a meaning to the scratchings below it is difficult. One has also the right to question the authenticity of the inscription, but here it is assumed that it is contemporary with the object.

The most pertinent objects to refer to in this case are the predynastic palettes. Among them only few have falcon shape⁸, a further important item is a combination of palette and falcon, the latter crowning the triangular palette⁹. A very interesting parallel is a schist palette in a Swiss private collection¹⁰. It is rectangular and is crowned by a falcon, but instead of the palace-façade decoration it has in the middle of the rectangular field a round receptacle for the mixing of eye paint. This object is cited here also because it affords a very fine

parallel to the falcon on the Stockholm object. This falcon is flat and two-dimensional and it lacks all the sculptural qualities of the falcons previously presented here. It is obvious that H. Wild's dating of it to the close of the Negadeh II period is correct. Likewise, its use as a palette cannot be questioned.

The purpose of the Stockholm object is not easily determined. But it may be connected with a few other objects which may be of ceremonial or symbolic character. One is a small plaque of schist excavated by Petrie in Abydos and dated by him in the 1st dynasty¹¹. Another is a faience plaque in a Swiss private collection, likewise dated in the 1st dynasty¹². Both of them are rectangular and have a falcon on the top edge. Furthermore both of them have their surfaces decorated with variants of the *serekh* design. While the one in the private collection is summarily executed, the one from Abydos is finely sculptured and closely resembles

the Stockholm falcon. It may even be of the same date as the Stockholm object. On stylistic grounds, Petrie dates it in the reign of King Zer¹³.

The presentation of these examples may give some hints for the understanding of the stages in the stylistic development of archaic Egyptian art. The bold, abstract character of the animal design is here – as well as in other early cultures – a phenomenon of short duration. But it has an archetypal importance in the legacy of Egyptian art. If we just look at these falcons, we can see how the items dating from King Zer's time represent a totally new conception in contrast to the Negadeh II type and its survivals of the 1st dynasty. The new conception is founded on the Negadeh II tradition but is at the starting-point of a completely new development of Egyptian art, in which abstract concepts and realistic form desiderata combine to form homogeneous works of art.

¹ There is of course a great difference in quality. Although this paper intends to emphasize items of artistic merit only, the following list includes examples of all types of falcon representations of the group: Fl. Petrie – J.E. Quibell, Naqada and Ballas, London 1896, pl. 70, 14–15, 18–20; Quibell, Hierakonpolis I, London 1900, pl. 21, 14, pl. 22, 14–15; Petrie, Abydos II, London 1903, pl. 7, 81–84 (for nr 84 cf. A. Scharff, Die Altertümer der Vor- und Frühzeit Ägyptens II, Berlin 1929, nr. 82); Petrie, Tarkhan II, London 1914, pl. 1; G. Brunton, Qau and Badari I., London 1929, pl. 20, nr. 63 (the same as Brunton – G. Caton-Thompson, The Badarian Civilisation, London 1928, pl. 58, 6); Brunton, Mostagedda, London 1937, pl. 39, 45A3; Brunton, Matmar, London 1948, pl. 15, 3. Cf. also J. Capart, Les débuts de l'art en Egypte, Bruxelles 1904, 183 f.; Petrie, Amulets, London 1914, nr 245; Petrie, Prehistoric Egypt, London 1920, pl. 9, 6–8 & 36; (R. S. Bianchi), The Nodding Falcon of the Guennol Collection at the Brooklyn Museum, The Brooklyn Museum Annual IX, 1967–68, 69 ff.

² E. J. Baumgartel, The Cultures of Prehistoric Egypt II, Oxford 1960, 75.

³ Brunton, Qau and Badari I, pl. 20, nr. 63.

⁴ Petrie, Prehistoric Egypt, pl. 43, nr. 20.

⁵ E.g. Petrie, Abydos II, pl. 7, 81–83.

⁶ Cf. W. Westendorf, Altägyptische Darstellungen des Sonnenlaufes auf der abschüssigen Himmelsbahn, MÄS 10, Berlin 1966.

⁷ P. Kaplony, Sechs Königsnamen der 1. Dynastie in neuer Deutung, Orientalia Suecana VII (1958), 1959, 54 ff., especially 58 ff.

⁸ Petrie, Prehistoric Egypt Corpus, London 1921, pl. 53, nr. 20 C; idem, Prehistoric Egypt, pl. 43, nr. 20 C.

⁹ Idem, Prehistoric Egypt Corpus, pl. 53, nr. 20 S (SD 77).

¹⁰ H. Wild, Choix d'objets pré-pharaoniques appartenant à des collections de Suisse, BIFAO 47, 1948, 1 ff., especially 44 ff; Kunsthalle Basel, Schätze altägyptischer Kunst, Ausstellung 1953, Katalog, nr. 21.

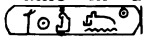
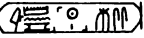
¹¹ Now in the Cairo Museum: Petrie, Abydos II, pl. 9, nr. 205, see p. 27; also L. Borchardt, Zwei Sockel, ZÄS 41, 1904, 85 f., fig. 2.

¹² H. W. Müller, Ägyptische Kunstwerke und Glas in der Sammlung E. und M. Kofler-Truniger, Luzern, Berlin 1964, A 27; Geschenk des Nils. Ägyptische Kunstwerke aus Schweizer Besitz, Zürich 1978, nr. 75.

¹³ Petrie, Abydos II, 27; cf. H. Wild, op. cit., 47, note 1.

Drei altägyptische Wurfhölzer

Beate George

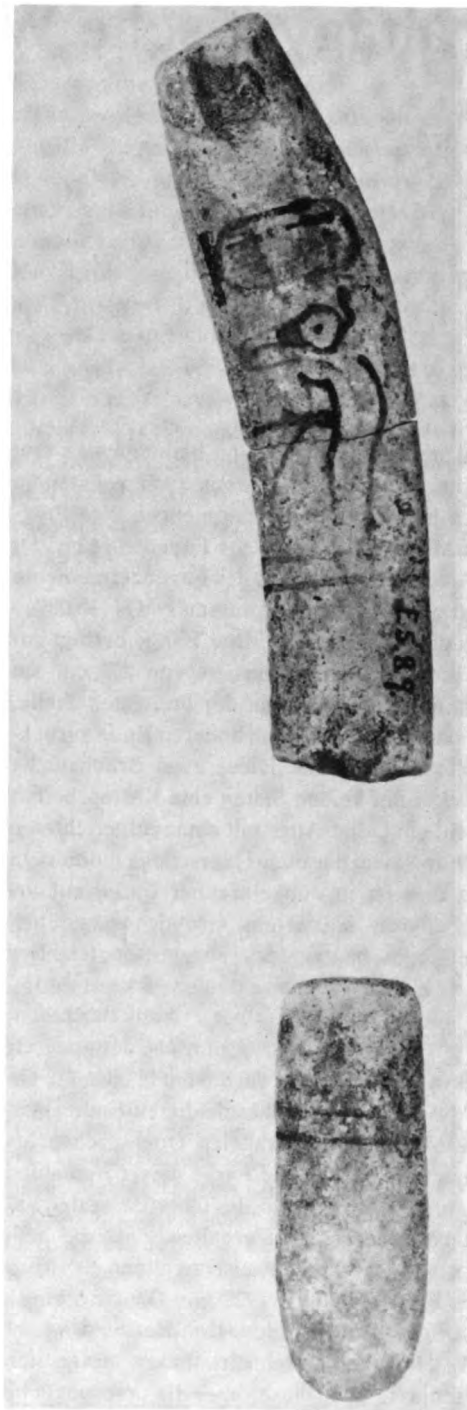
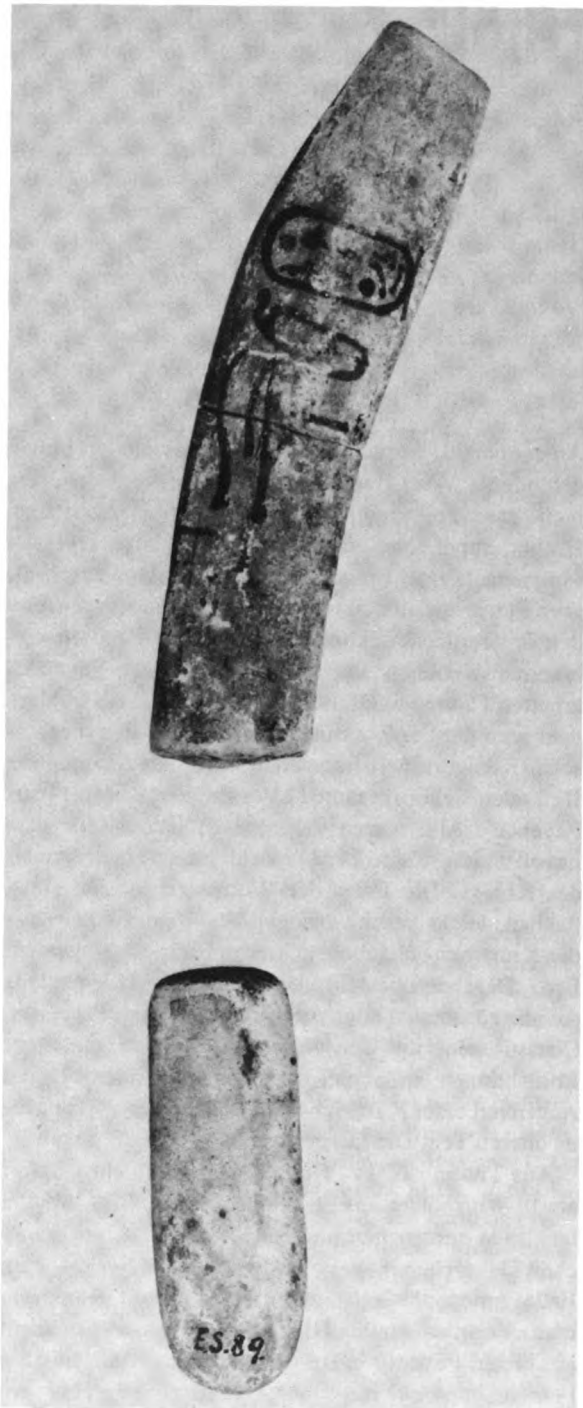
Im Medelhavsmuseet in Stockholm befinden sich drei Wurfhölzer aus Ägypten, und zwar zwei vollständig erhaltene aus Holz und drei zusammengehörige Fragmente eines Modellwurfholzes aus Fayence (Abb. 1), das jedoch inkomplett ist. Zwei der Fayencefragmente – alle drei tragen die Inventarnummer MM 10 089 – sind modern aneinandergefügt. Ihre Länge beträgt zusammen 16 cm, die Breite variiert von 2,7 cm am schmalsten Ende bis 3,9 cm an der breitesten Stelle, von wo aus sie bis auf 3,4 cm am anderen Ende zurückgeht; die Dicke ist 1,5 cm. Diese zwei Bruchstücke tragen als Dekor auf beiden Seiten eine Kartusche mit Königsnamen, ein Udjat-Auge mit einer aufgerichteten Kobra davor und zwei parallele Querstriche hinter dem Auge. Alles dies ist in dunkelbrauner Farbe auf ursprünglich hellgrün glasiertem Grunde ausgeführt, dessen Oberfläche heute stark abgegriffen ist. Der Name in den Kartuschen ist der Ramses' II., , *wsr m3c .t r^c stp.n r^c*, auf der einen, bzw. , *r^c ms sw mrj jmn*, auf der anderen Seite. Das dritte Fragment ist ein 8,8 cm langes, 3,2 cm breites und 1,5 dickes, am unbeschädigten Ende abgerundetes Stück mit zwei parallelen Querstrichen als Dekor auf nur einer Seite. Die Farbe dieser Bemalung ist ebenfalls dunkelbraun, und die Oberfläche der Fayence ist dermassen schlecht erhalten, dass die hellgrüne Glasur nur noch stellenweise zu ahnen ist.

Diese drei Fragmente sind 1928 von Dr. Otto Smith dem Museum geschenkt worden. Ihre Herkunft ist unbekannt. Mit Hilfe von Vergleichsstücken lassen sich jedoch Aufschlüsse über diese, über die ursprüngliche Form des Gegenstandes und über seine Anwendung und Bedeutung gewinnen. Wurfhölzer aus Fayence mit Königsnamen sind vor allem aus der 18. Dynastie reichlich erhalten. Eine kurze chronologische Übersicht ergibt folgendes Bild. Ein Fragment mit der Kartusche

Amenophis' I. wurde im „Northern Temple“ in Buhen gefunden¹. Von Thutmosis I. ist ein zerbrochenes, nicht ganz vollständig erhaltenes Exemplar aus dem Hathortempel von Serabit im Sinai² bekannt. Zwei zusammengehörige Fragmente, jedoch ohne Inschrift, grub Petrie zusammen mit anderen Fayencegegenständen in den Tierkatakomben in Dendera inmitten verbrannter Knochen aus³; er schreibt diese Fayencearbeiten Thutmosis III. oder Amenophis II. zu. Eindeutiger wird die Lage, wenn man Funde aus den thebanischen Königsgräbern heranzieht. Im Grabe Amenophis' II. fanden sich insgesamt 17 Wurfhölzer, davon 11 aus Fayence⁴. Alle waren zerbrochen, jedoch nur eins unvollständig (Kairo 24 344). Zehn tragen einen Namen des Königs. Die Form der Wurfhölzer ist die eines flachen, leicht geschwungenen Stabes mit einem aus der Krümmung abgebogenen, sich leicht verjüngenden Ende. Der Dekor besteht aus verschiedenen Elementen, die alle zusammen oder vereinzelt auftreten: Paare von Querstrichen, die den Stab in Sektionen einteilen, Lotusblumen an einem oder beiden Enden, Udjat-Augen mit einer Kartusche dazwischen am abgebogenen oberen Teil. Die Länge variiert von 18 bis 55 cm.

Aus Thutmosis' IV. Grabe⁵ stammen nicht weniger als 19 Wurfhölzer aus blauer Fayence, 25 bis 48,5 cm lang, alle zerbrochen und fünf inkomplett, mit ähnlichen Dekorelementen und von ähnlicher Form wie im Falle Amenophis' II.; vier tragen keinen Königsnamen. Von Amenophis III. ist ausser einem Fragment aus blauer Fayence in Hildesheim (Länge 11,5 cm)⁶ ein beschädigtes Beispiel ohne Spitze aus Serabit⁷ bekannt.

Ein neuer Typ, der sich bis in die Ramessidenzeit verfolgen lässt, taucht anscheinend mit der Amarna-Zeit auf, von deren Stil auch die Funde aus dem königlichen Grab 55 in Theben geprägt sind. Die 14 Wurfhöl-



1. MM 10 089

zer⁸ aus grüner Fayence mit ausser den Querstrichen kaum noch sichtbarem Dekor sind nur einfach geschwungen ohne Abknickung, stattdessen verbreitert sich der am stärksten gebogene Teil, um dann in einen runden knopfartigen Abschluss auszulaufen. Innerhalb dieses Typs lassen sich zwei Varianten unterscheiden, die der englische Ausgräber folgendermassen charakterisiert: „In the first (type) the two extremities are rounded, and the section of the whole length is a very flat oval; eight of these have been found in lengths ranging from 0 m. 120 to 0 m. 148. The six specimens of the second type are rather more bent, the end nearest the broadened part is rounded, but the haft is of round section and is square at the end. Their length is from 0 m. 120 to 0 m. 158.“

Abgesehen von der Grösse – das Stockholmer Wurfholz könnte etwa 50 cm lang gewesen sein – scheint die erste Variante (Abb. 2) unserem Wurfholz am nächsten



2. Ein Fayencewurfholz aus dem königlichen Grabe 55 in Theben. Nach Davis, Tomb of Queen Tiye.

zu kommen. Die beiden zusammengefügt Stücke mit Udjat-Auge, Kobra und Kartusche an der breitesten Stelle des Stabes dürften das obere Ende sein, an dem der knopfartige Abschluss fehlt. Das dritte Fragment ist der untere abgerundete Abschluss. Der Querschnitt aller drei Bruchstücke ist ein flaches Oval.

Beispiele für die zweite Variante – stärkere Schwingung, gerader unterer Abschluss – kommen auch sonst noch vor. Hierzu gehört ein blaues Fayencewurfholz im British Museum, mit Echnatons Namen beschrieben und möglicherweise aus seinem Grabe in Amarna stammend⁹. Die blaue Fayence ist mit Lotusblume, Kartusche und Udjat-Auge verziert. Ähnlich an Farbe und Dekor ist auch ein Fayencewurfholz Tutanchamuns in Leiden¹⁰ (Länge 37,5 cm), das schon vor der Entdeckung seines Grabes in den Handel geraten und von dem Leidener Museum gekauft worden ist. In diesem Falle ist die Schwingung flacher. Zwei Fragmente eines weiteren Wurfholzes Tutanchamuns (Länge 9 cm) befanden sich ebenfalls seit langem in einer Privatsammlung, von der sie ins British Museum übergegangen sind¹¹. In beiden Fällen wird eine Her-

kunft aus dem Grabe aufgrund einer früheren Plünderung angenommen. Weitere Fayencewurfhölzer sind bei Carters Ausgrabungen zutage getreten¹². Aus der 19. Dynastie sind Fragmente mit dem Namen Sethos' I. und Ramses' II. aus Serabit bekannt¹³. Die nächste Parallele zu den Stockholmer Fragmenten ist – abgesehen von den oben erwähnten Beispielen aus Grab 55 – ein fast vollständig aus Bruchstücken zusammengesetztes Fayencewurfholz mit dem Namen Ramses' II. aus Serabit (Abb. 3)¹⁴. Bis auf den knopfartigen



3. Ein Fayencewurfholz Ramses' II. aus dem Hathortempel von Serabit. Nach Petrie, Researches in Sinai.

Abschluss am oberen Ende ist es fast ganz erhalten und zeigt die Form, zu der man auch die drei Fragmente im Medelhavsmuseet rekonstruieren kann. Spätere Beispiele – z.B. von Merenptah – haben, soweit sie nicht zu bruchstückhaft sind, dieselbe Gestalt¹⁵.

Alle hier behandelten Fayencewurfhölzer stammen entweder aus Gräbern, wo sie zum weiteren Gebrauch des Toten bestimmt waren, oder aus Tempeln, wo sie einerseits als Gaben an die Gottheit wie in Serabit an Hathor gedient haben können, wo sie andererseits aber auch als Grundsteinbeigaben verwendet worden sind, wie unpublizierte Fragmente mit dem Namen der Hatschepsut und ihrer Mutter Ahmose aus Deir el Bahari zeigen¹⁶. Für die Stockholmer Fragmente muss offenbleiben, ob sie für Grab oder Tempel bestimmt waren.

Einfacher ist meist die Form der hölzernen Wurfhölzer. Diese werden teilweise ebenfalls als „Modellwurfhölzer“ bezeichnet¹⁷, obwohl sie der Grösse und dem Material nach oftmals durchaus praktischen Zwecken gedient haben könnten. Zwei Beispiele aus Holz – MM 11 230 und 19 776 – befinden sich im Medelhavsmuseet. MM 11 230 (Abb. 4) stammt aus der Gayer-Anderson-Sammlung und soll in Sakkara gekauft worden sein. Seine Länge beträgt 59 cm, die Breite 3,5 cm mit einer Verjüngung bis zu 1,6 cm an dem einen Ende und einer



4. MM 11 230 (Seite ohne Dekor).



5. Detail von MM 11 230.

Verbreiterung bis zu 4,8 cm am anderen. Der Querschnitt ist flach oval. Das Material ist ein dunkles Holz. Das Wurfholz ist leicht geschwungen und läuft zum oberen gebogenen Ende hin spitz und flach zu. Das untere verbreiterte Ende ist etwas verdickt und leicht gerundet. In seiner Nähe befindet sich ein Astloch oder eine Durchbohrung. Auf einer Seite der Spitze zu sind Figuren grob eingeritzt (Abb. 5): dem Ende zugewandt sitzt ein Mann auf einem Stuhl; in der rechten Hand hält er etwas, das den vor ihm stehenden Hund anzulocken scheint. Hinter diesem ist ein löwenköpfiges Totenbett im Profil und darüber ein Krokodil in Aufsicht wiedergegeben, dahinter steht ausserdem noch ein gänseartiger Vogel. Alle Tiere sind dem Sitzenden zugewandt. Die Bedeutung dieser Bilder ist nicht unmittelbar klar. Am leichtesten scheint der Vogel verständlich zu sein, da die Verwendung von Wurfhölzern bei der Vogeljagd wohlbekannt ist; das Krokodil könnte allenfalls die Papyrussümpfe, in denen diese Jagd stattfindet, andeuten. Ein Zusammenhang mit dem Rest der Darstellung und deren Bedeutung sind jedoch schwierig zu bestimmen. Die Aufreihung erinnert etwas an den Dekor der sog. Zaubermesser sowie auch einiger Stäbe aus Holz bzw. Steatit, deren Deutung auch nicht leicht zu bestimmen ist¹⁸.

MM 19 776 stammt wahrscheinlich ebenfalls aus Gayer-Andersons Sammlung (Abb. 6). Es ist 56,5 cm lang, 3,3–4,4 cm breit und 1,6–2 cm dick. Es besteht aus hellem Holz und trägt Reste eines Überzuges. Auf beiden Seiten weist es der Länge nach eine erhöhte Mittellinie auf, so dass ein rhombischer Querschnitt entsteht¹⁹. Auf einer Seite läuft ein Sprung fast an der ganzen Erhöhung entlang. Das Wurfholz ist nur leicht gebogen und verdickt sich etwas gegen beide Enden hin, von denen das eine sich ausserdem auch verbreitert.



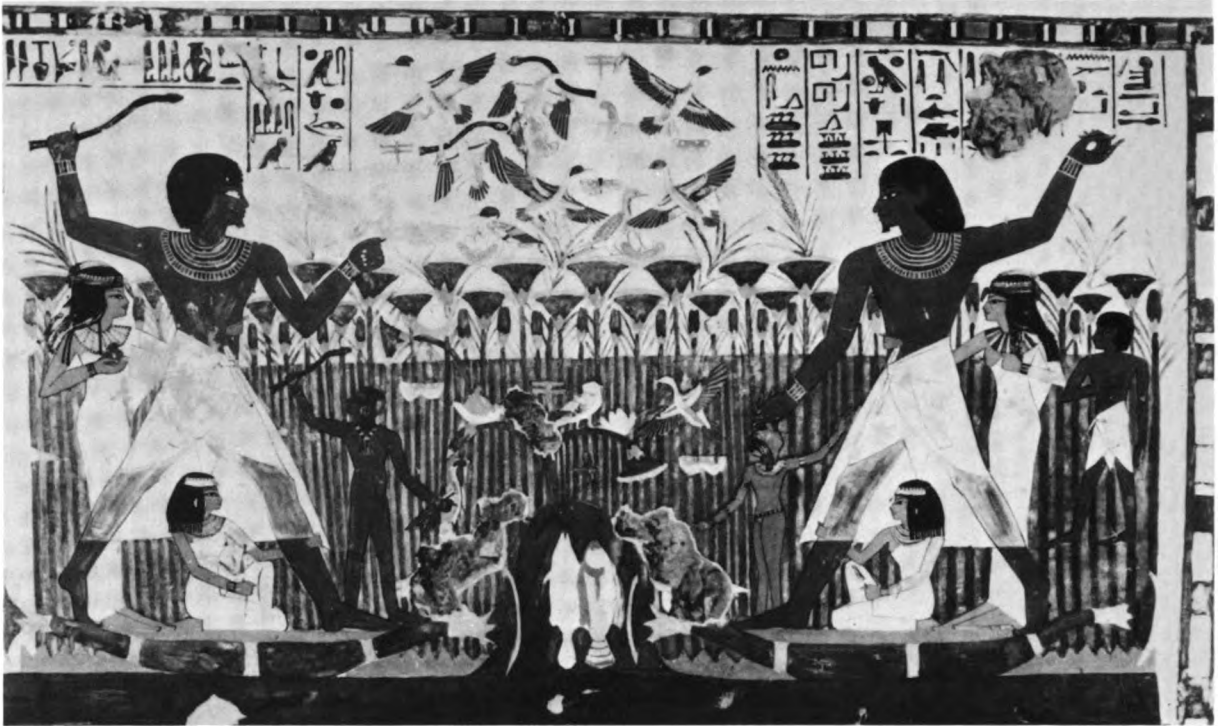
6. MM 19776



7. Ein hölzernes Wurfholz Echnatons. Nach Martin, Royal Tomb at El- 'Amarna I.

Parallelen aus Holz sind viel häufiger als aus Fayence, sie sind aus allen Epochen belegt und kommen sowohl bei Königen als auch Privatleuten vor²⁰. Ihre Form variiert von einer gleichmässigen leichten Biegung bis zu starker Krümmung ungefähr in der Mitte oder mehr zu einem Ende hin. Auch Sonderformen, die in Schlangenköpfe auslaufen und den Fayencewurfhölzern mit abgeknicktem Ende gleichen²¹, kommen vor. Von ähnlicher Form wie die Stockholmer Wurfhölzer – obwohl das zugespitzte Ende von MM 11 230 sonst nur vereinzelt vorzukommen scheint²² und obwohl eine erhöhte Mittelrippe wie bei MM 19 776 nach den Photos sonst an keinem andern Exemplar deutlich festzustellen ist – sind unter den königlichen Beispielen besonders je ein Wurfholz Amenophis' II.²³ und Echnatons (Abb. 7)²⁴, unter den privaten z.B. drei aus Beni Hassan²⁵, eins aus einem thebanischen Grab der 11. Dynastie²⁶, eins aus Senenmuts Grab²⁷ und eins aus einem Grabe der 18. Dynastie in der Nähe der Mastabat Faraoun²⁸. Als Herkunftsort werden stets Gräber angenommen, auch wenn dies nicht immer sicher dokumentiert ist. Danach darf man wohl annehmen, dass auch die Stockholmer Exemplare aus funeràrem Zusammenhang stammen. Ihre Datierung lässt sich aufgrund der Parallelen, die einem langen Zeitraum entstammen, nicht präzisieren.

Über Verwendung und Bedeutung derartiger Wurfhölzer gibt vor allem der Dekor von Grabanlagen Aufschluss. Hier erscheinen sie oder ihnen ähnliche Geräte, die eine nähere Untersuchung und Abgrenzung wert wären, in verschiedenen Zusammenhängen. Als Kampfwanne kommen sie wohl hauptsächlich bei Aus-



8. Die Jagd mit dem Wurfholz im Grabe des Nacht, Theben Nr. 52. Nach Davies, Tomb of Nakht.

ländern vor²⁹, wozu auch die ägyptische Bezeichnung *ʿ3m* (WB I 167, 18 ff) bzw. *ʿmʿ3.t* (WB I 186, 2) passt, die mit dem ägyptischen Wort für „Asiate“ zusammenhängt³⁰. Am wichtigsten zum Verständnis der Wurfhölzer sind aber die bekannten und häufig belegten Szenen der Vogeljagd in den Papyrussümpfen, oft zusammen mit dem Fischespeeren dargestellt, die den Grabherrn in einem Boot stehend zeigen, wie er in der hochehobenen Hand ein Wurfholz schwingt und mit der anderen mehrere Vögel an den Füßen packt, eine Komposition, die möglicherweise Beginn und Resultat der Jagd simultan in einem Bilde zusammenfasst (Abb. 8)³¹. Obwohl bei weitem am häufigsten in Privatgräbern des Alten und Mittleren Reiches und der 18. Dynastie³² erhalten, scheint die Vogeljagd mit dem Wurfholz anfangs ein königliches Privilegium gewesen zu sein³³, worauf noch Details der Tracht des Grabherrn deuten können³⁴, welches von der 5. Dynastie an von den Hofbeamten in das Dekorprogramm ihrer Gräber aufgenommen werden konnte.

Die Bedeutung dieser Jagd sowohl für Könige als auch für Beamte zu Lebzeiten einerseits und im Jen-

seits andererseits dürfte – wie die meisten Phänomene in Ägypten – mehrschichtig gewesen sein. Eine kleine Auswahl von Texten zu Vogeljagd und Wurfholz in Kombination mit den Grabbildern lässt mindestens vier verschiedene Sinnmöglichkeiten aufscheinen. Die erste ist anzunehmen, dass die Vogeljagd in diesem Leben zum Vergnügen und zur Erholung als Sport und kultisches Spiel betrieben wurde, die man auch im Jenseits weiterhin ausüben wollte. Die Beischriften zu den Grabbildern des Alten Reiches³⁵ sind oft sehr lakonisch wie „das Wurfholz werfen“, „das Wurfholz auf die Vögel werfen“, „das Wurfholz auf die Nester der Vögel werfen“. Ausführlicher sind die Grabinschriften der 18. Dynastie, die sowohl das Vergnügen als auch die Feldgöttin Sechet, die Herrin der Fisch- und Vogeljagd erwähnen³⁶ und die Jagd in den Papyrussümpfen als „Dienst der Sechet“ bezeichnen: „Sich vergnügen, Schönes beschauen, einen Auftrag ausführen als Dienst der Sechet durch den Genossen der Herrin des Vogel- und Fischfanges“, heisst es etwa bei Nacht³⁷. Wie alle anderen Bereiche des Lebens sind in Ägypten auch Spiel und Sport Gottheiten unterstellt und können

damit kultische Aspekte haben. Folgende Deutung ist schon von Balcz vorgeschlagen worden³⁸: ursprünglich handele es sich um Jagdfahrten ins Papyrusdickicht, bei denen man auf die Hilfe der Feldgöttin für das Gelingen und auf die Gewährung reicher Beute durch sie hoffte. Diese Fahrten seien allmählich in Wallfahrten umgedeutet worden, bei denen zu Ehren der Sechet gejagt und auch Papyrus geschüttelt bzw. gepflückt wurde³⁹. Diese letzte Handlung wird auch zu Ehren der Hathor ausgeführt, wie auch das Wurfholz ein ihr heiliges Gerät gewesen sein kann⁴⁰. An Balcz' Deutung ist vielleicht nur auszusetzen, dass er Jagd und Kult zu trennen versucht, die für die Ägypter sicher zusammengehören konnten.

Auf eine derartige Zusammengehörigkeit lassen ein paar weitere Texte schliessen. Von den Freuden der Fisch- und Vogeljagd spricht ausführlich ein literarischer Text des Mittleren Reiches⁴¹, der den Erfolg der Gunst der Sechet zuschreibt und auch erwähnt, dass die Jäger dem Krokodilgott Sobek ein Opfer von der Beute an Fischen und Vögeln darbringen. Weitere literarische Fragmente aus derselben Zeit⁴² handeln vom Jagdausflug eines Königs ins Fajum. Auch dabei ist von einem Opfer eines Teils der Jagdbeute an eine Gottheit die Rede, und die Erschaffung der Wasservögel scheint der Göttin Sechet zugeschrieben zu werden. Auch von königlichen Jagdausflügen berichtet schliesslich der Beamte Sebekhotep auf seiner Hockerstatue⁴³. Er was Organisator der Ausfahrten Thutmosis' IV. ins Fajum und hebt hervor, dass der König zu seiner Freude Bootsfahrten unternahm und dabei Vögel mit dem Wurfholz erlegte und Fische speerte. Der König wird als „Geliebter der Sechet, ... Geliebter des Sobek, Fisch- und Vogelfänger der beiden Herrinnen“ bezeichnet.

Dass auch der Tote im Jenseits der Vogeljagd nachgehen wollte, wird aus Sargtextspruch 62 deutlich⁴⁴. In diesem Spruch wird dem Toten neues Leben und Bewegungs- und Tätigkeitsfreiheit zugesichert. Über die Vogeljagd heisst es dort: „es werden zu dir kommen Wasservögel zu Tausenden, die auf deinem Weg liegen. Du wirfst dein Wurfholz auf sie, und Tausende sind es, die fallen bei dem Geräusch seines Luftzuges, nämlich *sr*-Gänse, Grünbrustvögel, *trp*-Gänse und männliche *st*-Gänse“ (CT I 269 e-j).

Die zweite Möglichkeit, warum Wurfhölzer mit ins Grab gegeben wurden, kann darin gesehen werden, dass sie als Verteidigungswaffen gegen gefährliche Wesen im Jenseits dienen sollten. In Sargtextspruch 686 z.B., der vom Vertreiben von Schlangen handelt,

heisst es, dass dem Toten Wurfhölzer gegeben sind, mit denen er die Köpfe der Schlangen zerschlägt (CT VI 316 e). Dies erinnert an die oben erwähnten Wurfhölzer, die in Schlangenköpfe auslaufen: eine Gefahr kann am besten mit ihresgleichen bekämpft werden. Andererseits kann der Tote selbst auch von den Wurfhölzern dämonischer Wesen in der Unterwelt bedroht sein. Sargtextspruch 418 ist ein Mittel, um diese Gefahr abzuwenden: die Wurfhölzer werden beschworen zurückzukehren und herunterzufallen, um dem Toten nicht schaden zu können. Auch in diesem Falle kann man sich vorstellen, dass ausser dem Spruch noch die Waffe selbst mit ins Grab gegeben wurde, um Gleiches mit Gleichem zu bekämpfen.

Eine dritte Bedeutungsmöglichkeit des Wurfholzes in Zusammenhang mit der Vogeljagd ist die Vernichtung des Bösen zur Aufrechterhaltung der Weltordnung. Dieses nicht nur in Ägypten, sondern in verschiedenen Kulturen⁴⁵ anzutreffende Phänomen beruht wohl auf dem Schuldgefühl der eng in die Natur eingebundenen Menschen, durch ihr Eingreifen, das Jagen, Disharmonie und Tod in die Welt zu bringen. Dieses Gefühl wird auf das zu erlegende Tier projiziert, das zum Sündenbock erklärt wird. Was Ägypten anbelangt, wird die Jagd damit in einen Akt religiös-politischen Verdienstes umgedeutet: in den Tieren werden Feinde des Königs, der auf Erden Stellvertreter des Schöpfergottes und Verwalter der Maat, der Gerechtigkeit und Richtigkeit in allen Angelegenheiten des Lebens ist, bestraft und vernichtet. Diese Rolle der Feinde kann u.a. Vögeln zugeteilt werden. Z.B. ist ein falkengestaltiger Gott der Vogeljagd bekannt, der mit einem Wurfholz versehen ist und beim sog. Rebellenfest den Feinden des Königs den Kopf abschneidet⁴⁶. Noch bis in griechisch-römische Zeit ist als Ritual das „Darbringen des Strausses der Sechet“ belegt, bei dem der König der Göttin einen Strauss aus den Symbolpflanzen des vereinigten Ägypten, Papyrus und Lotus, mit angebundenen Vögeln, seinen Feinden, darbringt⁴⁷. Den Sinn der Feindvernichtung könnten schliesslich sowohl die Fayencewurfhölzer aus dem Hathortempel von Serabit als auch die Szene der Vogeljagd, die der König vor dem Gotte Min ausführt, im Tempel von Kom Ombo haben⁴⁸.

Sich bei der Vogeljagd in seinem Grabe darstellen zu lassen oder ein Wurfholz als Bestandteil der Grabausrüstung zu haben, kann somit für den Privatmann bedeuten, sich in diesem Leben wie auch im nächsten als Anhänger des Königs und Bekämpfer der Mächte des Chaos zu erweisen.

Die vierte Bedeutungsmöglichkeit ist die am schwersten zu entschlüsselnde und vielleicht gerade deswegen auch die wichtigste. Sie geht davon aus, dass die Szene der Vogeljagd – wie auch eine Reihe anderer – amphibolisch aufzufassen sei, dass sie nicht ausschliesslich auf ihren offensichtlichen Bildinhalt festzulegen, sondern vielmehr in ihrem Sinnzusammenhang im Grabe wie eine Hieroglypheninschrift zu lesen und dem funerären Kontext gemäss zu deuten sei¹⁹. Statt *km³* – „werfen (WB V 33,8–16) des Wurfholzes“ konnte ein Ägypter auch das identisch geschriebene *km³* – „schaffen, erzeugen, hervorbringen“ (WB V 34–35) lesen, d. h. das Bild der Vogeljagd enthielte eine Andeutung auf die Wiedergeburt des Grabbesitzers, der das Grab selbst und die ganze Grabausrüstung

dienen sollen. Zu dieser Deutung passt, dass der das Wurfholz werfende Tote fast stets von seiner Frau begleitet ist, in einzelnen Fällen kommen seine Mutter oder Tochter vor. Eine Wiedergeburt setzt eine Neuzeugung voraus. Da nach ägyptischer Kamutef-Vorstellung Vater und Sohn eins sind oder anders ausgedrückt der vergöttlichte Verstorbene gleichzeitig Gatte und Sohn derselben Frau sein kann, kann er sich ständig durch sie neu hervorbringen und auf diese Weise im Kreislauf von Werden und Vergehen unsterblich sein. Alle diese Implikationen können im Bilde der Vogeljagd gegenwärtig sein, und vielleicht reichte sogar ein einzelnes ins Grab mitgegebenes Wurfholz aus, den Toten an allen mit diesem Gegenstande verbundenen Wirkungen teilhaben zu lassen.

¹ D. Randall-Maciver–C. L. Woolley, Buhen, Philadelphia 1911, Text: 93; Plates: 43, no. 10 940.

² W. M. Fl. Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, London 1906, 144 und fig. 150, 1. Petrie betrachtet die Wurfhölzer als „wands“ und bringt sie mit Musik und Tanz in Zusammenhang.

³ W. M. Fl. Petrie, *Denderah*, London 1900, 28, pl. 23,2–3.

⁴ G. Daressy, *Fouilles de la vallée des rois*, CGC, Le Caire 1902, 116 ff, pl. 27. Die Farbe ist leider fast nie angegeben, wo es doch der Fall ist, handelt es sich um blaue Fayence. Die S. 288 erwähnten Wurfhölzer Thutmosis' III. – 2 aus Holz, eins aus Fayence – sind leider nicht abgebildet.

⁵ H. Carter–P. E. Newberry, *The Tomb of Thoutmôsis IV*, CGC, Westminster 1904, 110 ff, pl. 25.

⁶ Meisterwerke altägyptischer Keramik, Hachenburg 1978, Nr. 319; als Herkunft wird sein Grab angenommen.

⁷ Petrie, *Sinai*, fig. 150,2.

⁸ Th. M. Davis et al., *The Tomb of Queen Tiye*, London 1910, p. 38 no. 48; pl. 5,2–4. Das Grab ist an Teje, Semenckare und Echnaton zugeschrieben worden.

⁹ G. Th. Martin, *The Royal Tomb of El-'Amarna*, London 1974, 81 f, no. 301; pl. 51.

¹⁰ W. D. van Wijngaarden, *Objects of Tut'ankhamûn in the Rijksmuseum of Antiquities at Leiden*, JEA 22, 1936, 1 f, pl. 1 no. 2.

¹¹ H. R. Hall, *Objects of Tut'ankhamûn in the British Museum*, JEA 14, 1928, 74 ff, pl. 9 no. 4.

¹² H. Murray–M. Nuttall, *A Handlist to Howard Carter's Catalogue of Objects in Tut'ankhamûn's Tomb*, Oxford 1963, nos 620(9, 10); 620(7,8) sind aus Holz, Gold und Fayence. Es kommen auch Exemplare aus Elfenbein vor: 620(4–6).

¹³ Petrie, *Sinai*, fig. 150,3 bzw. 4 und 6.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, fig. 150,5.

¹⁵ Ibid., fig. 150,7: Merenptah; 150,8: Ramses III. u. 150,9: Ramses IV. sind zu fragmentarisch.

¹⁶ PM II 369: Cairo Mus. Ent. 47715.

¹⁷ U.a. Martin, op. cit., 98 no. 441.

¹⁸ Cf. H. Altenmüller, Die Apotropaia und die Götter Mittel-ägyptens I-II, 1965; G. Daressy, Un casse-tête préhistorique en bois de Gébelein, ASAE 22, 1922, 17 ff mit Tafel; W. C. Hayes, The Scepter of Egypt I, New York 1953, 227 f, fig. 143. Eine eingehende Untersuchung der Wurfhölzer und eine Abgrenzung von anderen Stäben, Stöcken usw. wäre sicher lohnend, da recht verschiedene Ansichten in der Literatur vorgetragen werden. Daressy, Fouilles, I 16 ff nennt die hölzernen Wurfhölzer Amenophis' II. z.B. „bâton courbé“ oder „bâton magique“. A. Hassan, Stäbe und Stöcke im Pharaonischen Ägypten, München-Berlin 1976, 78, 80, 91 hält manche Wurfhölzer nur für einfache Stöcke. Auch herrscht Unklarheit, inwieweit es sich im einzelnen Falle um ein von selbst zurückkehrendes Wurfholz, einen Bumerang, handelt, oder um eins, das man selbst nach jedem Wurf zurückholen muss.

¹⁹ Dies ist nach den Bildern der Parallelen sonst nirgends sicher festzustellen.

²⁰ G. A. Reisner, *Excavations at Kerma IV–V*, Cambridge Mass. 1923, 245 Anm. 2 erwähnt ein unpubliziertes AR-Wurfholz aus Naga ed Deir. Cf. auch pl. 51,3. Petrie, *The Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties II*, London 1901, 37, pl. 36,1,2,14; 39, pl. 44,2,22. Id., *Tools and Weapons*, London 1917, 36, pl. 43,1–7, pl. 69,8–13 (mit ausländischen Beispielen). Hayes, op. cit. I, 284, fig. 181; II, 212, fig. 125. J. Garstang, *Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt*, London 1907, 162, fig. 166. Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, London 1907, 14, pl. 13 nos 12–13. G. Jéquier, *Le Mastabat Faraoun*, Le Caire 1928, 33 fig. 30. B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934–1935) II*, Le Caire 1937, 52, fig. 25; 123, fig. 69. Daressy, *Fouilles*, 115, pl. 27. Martin, op. cit., 98 no. 441, pl. 57. Carter, *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen III*, London 1933, 141 f, pl. 76 C, 77 A, B. Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, London 1891, 22, pl. 27 no. 43.

²¹ Thutmosis III.: Daressy, Fouilles, S. 288. Amenophis II.: *ibid.*, pl. 27. Grabbilder: z.B. Menna: W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte I*, Leipzig 1923, Taf. 2. BM 37 977: *ibid.*, Taf. 423. König Eje: A. Piankoff, *Les peintures dans la tombe du roi Aï*, MDAIK 16, 1958, 247 ff, Taf. 21.2. Hier seien auch die Stäbe mit Gazellenköpfen erwähnt, die Tänzer schwingen: Petrie, *Deshasheh*, London 1898, 8, pl. 12. Stäbe mit Widderköpfen erscheinen bei der Mundöffnung: Jéquier, *Les frises d'objets des sarcophages du Moyen Empire*, MIFAO 47, 1921, 323, fig. 836; cf. auch L. Keimer, *Remarques sur quelques représentations de divinités-béliers et sur un groupe d'objets de culte conservés au Musée du Caire*, ASAE 38, 1938, 297 ff, bes. 323 ff und pl. 44.

²² Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, pl. 69, 11. *Id.*, *Royal Tombs II*, pl. 36, 1, 11.

²³ Daressy, Fouilles, pl. 27 nr 24331 (statt fälschlich 34331).

²⁴ Martin, *op. cit.*, pl. 57.

²⁵ Garstang, op. cit., fig. 166: das 1., 4. und 5. von oben

gerechnet.

²⁶ Hayes, *Scepter I*, fig. 181: das 3. von oben links.

²⁷ Ibid. II, fig. 125: oben links.

²⁸ Jéquier, Mastabat Faraoun, fig 30.

²⁹ W. Wolf, *Die Bewaffnung des altägyptischen Heeres*, Leipzig 1926, 7, 13 sagt, das Wurfholz komme als Kriegswaffe in Ägypten nicht vor, anders H. Bonnet, *Die Waffen der Völker des alten Orients*, Leipzig 1926, 108 f, der ausserdem sowohl ägyptische als auch ausländische Typen zeigt.

³⁰ Weitere Wörter sind *m^cṣṣ* (WB II 46,10) und *ḵm^s* (WB V 33,7), das mit *ḵm*, werfen, zusammenhängt.

³¹ So Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* IV, Paris 1964, 721, eine andere Erklärung 747.

³² Listen *ibid.*, 718 f und 758 f. Zu späteren Beispielen *ibid.*, 772, fig. 428; E. de Keyser, *Scènes de chasse et pêche*, CdE 43, 1947, 42 ff, bes. 43; W. Wolf, *Die Kunst Ägyptens*, Stuttgart 1957, 647 und Abb. 695.

³³ Vandier, *op. cit.*, 718 nennt als frühestes königliches Beispiel eine Szene der Thinitenzeit, bei der jedoch nur das Fischespeeren und nicht die Vogeljagd erhalten ist, spätere königliche Exempel sind Sahure und Eje.

³⁴ Zu den verschiedenen Deutungen der Tracht cf. E. Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht im Alten Reich*, Berlin 1966, 250 ff.

³⁵ Literaturhinweise bei Vandier, *op. cit.*, 718 f, cf. auch P. Montet, *Les scènes de la vie privée dans les tombeaux égyptiens de l'ancien empire*, Strasbourg 1925, 18 ff.

³⁶ H. Balcz, Zu den Szenen der Jagdfahrten im Papyrosdikticht, ZÄS 75, 1939, 32 ff. bes. 37; auch H. Junker, Giza III, Wien-Leipzig 1938, 76 ff. W. Guglielmi, die Feldgöttin Sh. t, WdO 7, 1974, 206 ff.

³⁷ N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Nakht at Thebes*, New York 1917, pl. 22; ähnlich auch Urkunden IV 107, 512, 1202, 1397, 1605, 1607.

³⁸ *Op. cit.*, 37.

³⁹ Eine zusammen mit der Jagd oft dargestellte Szene, dazu zuletzt Y. M. Harpur, *Zṣṣ w₃d* Scenes of the Old Kingdom, GM 38, 1980, 53 ff.

⁴⁰ de Keyser, op. cit., 49.

⁴¹ W. Decker, Quellentexte zu Sport und Körperkultur im alten Ägypten, Sankt Augustin 1975, 31 ff, Dok. 8.

⁴² Ibid., 38 ff, Dok. 9.

⁴³ Ibid., 66 ff, Dok. 22.

⁴⁴ R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts I*, Warminster 1973, 58; H. Grapow, *Die Vogeljagd mit dem Wurfbholz*, ZÄS 47, 1910, 132 ff.

⁴⁵ Z.B. H. Findeisen, *Schamanentum*, Stuttgart 1957.

⁴⁶ P. Kaplony, *Studien zum Grab des Methethi*, Miesbach 1976, 16.

⁴⁷ W. Guglielmi, Zur Symbolik des „Darbringens des Strausses der Sh.t“, ZÄS 103, 1976, 101 ff.

⁴⁸ Cf. Wolf, *Die Kunst Ägyptens*, Abb. 695.

⁴⁹ W. Westendorf, Bemerkungen zur „Kammer der Wiedergeburt“ im Tutanchamungrab, ZÄS 94, 1967, 139 ff, bes. 142 f.

Eine Frauenmaske im Medelhavsmuseet

László Kákosy

Die bemalte Frauenmaske wurde vom Museum im Jahre 1933 als Geschenk erworben. Früher befand sie sich in der Privatsammlung Nils Rettig. Weitere Angaben stehen von ihrer Provenienz nicht zur Verfügung. Höhe 37 cm.¹ Sie wurde aus Leinwand hergestellt und ist mit einer Stuckschicht überzogen. Das Stück ist beschädigt, der Unterteil der Rückseite fehlt, einige Teile der Stuckschicht sind abgefallen. Das Gesicht ist gelb bemalt, die grossen dunklen Augen sind etwas emporgerichtet. Das in der Mitte gescheitelte Haar wurde offenbar nachträglich angebracht und wurde in kleine Wellen modelliert. Die Ohren mit Gehängen sind grossenteils vom Haar bedeckt, (Abb. 1 a–d).

Auf dem Scheitel befindet sich ein geflügelter schwarzer Skarabäus. Zwei Anch-Zeichen und eine rote Scheibe (Schen-Kreis, *šn*)² werden von ihm gehalten. Hinter dem Skarabäus ist ein Geier mit ausgebreiteten Flügeln dargestellt. Der unpassende Schopf auf seinem Kopf darf vielleicht als ein Missverständnis der oberägyptischen oder der Doppelkrone angesehen werden.³ Das Gefieder ist teilweise rot bemalt, in seinen Krallen hält er zwei lange rotbemalte Wedel. Wir werden versuchen, die Zusammengehörigkeit des Skarabäus und des Geiers (Szene I.) noch zu erweisen, (Abb. 2).

Nachher, schon am Hinterteil der Maske folgt eine Szene des Sonnenaufgangs. Zwischen Lotosblüten und Knospen ist der Oberkörper eines Mannes zu sehen, zwischen seinen aufgehobenen Händen ist die Sonnenscheibe angebracht. Die Hautfarbe des Mannes ist rot, die Sonnenscheibe und die Lotosknospen sind ebenfalls rot bemalt. Rechts und links wird die Sonne von je zwei Affen begrüsst (Szene II.). Beiderseits wird die Szene mit dem Bild einer Krone abgeschlossen. (Abb. 3 a–c).

Dieses Bild ist durch einen ziemlich breiten Streifen

von einer geflügelten Sonnenscheibe darunter getrennt. Zwischen zwei herabhängenden Uräusschlangen steht ein Osiris mit Atefkrone, Krummstab und Geissel. Ein Teil des Gefieders, die zentrale grosse Sonnenscheibe sowie die anderen beiden auf dem Kopf der Schlangen und das Kleid des Osiris sind rot. Die beiden vertikalen Inschriftzeilen wurden nur mit je einem roten Strich ausgefüllt (Szene III.). Von dem untersten Bild sind nur Bruchstücke erhalten, (Abb. 4).

Rechts von der mittleren Bilderreihe sind zwei Szenen untereinander angebracht. In der oberen steht Osiris mit den gewöhnlichen Attributen im Mittelpunkt, neben ihm beiderseits zwei kniende Gestalten mit gebundenen Armen. Sie werden durch Anubis und Horus mit Lanzen niedergestossen. Beiderseits wird die Szene durch zwei betende Frauen in weissem Kleid und mit einem weissen Band in den Haaren flankiert. Osiris ist wiederum rot, die zwei Götter und die Götterfeinde tragen weisse Kleider, Osiris, Anubis und Horus über dem Kleid einen gestreiften Mantel. Die horizontalen und vertikalen Inschriftzeilen sind leer geblieben. (Szene IV.), (Abb. 5).

Darunter befindet sich in einem rechteckigen Bildfeld eine Anbetungsszene (Szene V.). Der mumiengehaltige Gott trägt die Sonnenscheibe auf seinem Kopf. Sein Gewand ist rot, der Oberteil des Kleides und sein Mantel schwarz gestreift. Die Zeichnung ist nicht vollkommen klar, doch dürfte es wahrscheinlich sein, dass wir einen falkenköpfigen Gott vor uns haben. Wenn das stimmt, dann muss er als Sokaris-Osiris angesehen werden. Vor ihm betet eine Frau in dunklem Gewand, auf ihrem Kopf ist die Sonnenscheibe abgebildet. Hinter dem Gott breitet eine Schlange die Flügel schützend um den Gott aus. Die Hieroglyphe auf ihrem Kopf erweist sie als Isis. Die betende Frau dürfte die Verstorbene selbst darstellen, (Abb. 5).



Abb. 1 a-d.



Abb. 2.

Im oberen Register der linken Seite (Szene VI.) bildet ein etwas stilisierter, anthropomorphisierter Djed-Pfeiler den Mittelpunkt. Er ist mit einem Frauenkopf mit Band und Sonnenscheibe bekrönt und hält eine Geißel und einen Krummstab. Der Schaft läuft unten in zwei sich aufrichtende geflügelte Schlangen aus. Daneben stehen zwei mumiengestaltige Götter mit Sonnenscheibe auf dem Kopf. Der menschenköpfige ist höchstwahrscheinlich Amset, der affenköpfige Hapi. Ihre Kleidung ist zum Teil rot, oben weiss und gestreift. Rechts und links ist unter einem Baldachin auf einem Totenbett je eine Mumie dargestellt. Neben der Mumie der rechten Seite steht der schakalköpfige, schwarzgesichtige Anubis. Neben der linken Mumie ist ein falkenköpfiger Gott mit Krummstab abgebildet. In seinen beiden Händen hält er Zeugstreifen (*mnḥ.t*⁴), hier möglicherweise Mumienbinden. Die Inschriftzeilen sind überall leer geblieben, (Abb. 6).

Im unteren Register lässt sich das fragmentarische Bild (Szene VII.) nicht rekonstruieren. Links stehen zwei Frauen in Gebetsgebärde, rechts oben ist die *nb.t-ḥw.t* (Nephthys) Hieroglyphe zu sehen. In der Mitte schwebt ein Vogel, der Kopfteil ist beschädigt.

Aufgrund der Anwesenheit von Nephthys würde man an eine osirianische Szene denken. Möglicherweise stand eine Totenbahre mit einer Mumie in der Mitte. Auch hier blieben die Inschriftenfelder unausgefüllt, (Abb. 6).

Die Frauenmaske ist ein qualitätsvolles Produkt der graeco-ägyptischen Mischkunst. Die Modellierung des Gesichtes bringt klar die griechischen Individualisierungstendenzen zum Ausdruck, während die traditionelle ägyptische Formensprache sich in den religiösen Darstellungen geltend macht.⁵

Die Datierung der griechisch-ägyptischen Masken bildet in Einzelheiten noch ernste Schwierigkeiten. Zahlreiche Probleme des komplizierten Fragenkomplexes wurden durch die Forschungen von G. Grimm⁶ und K. Parlasca⁷ geklärt. Der traditionelle Stil der Mumienmasken begann sich am Anfang der Römerzeit zu lockern.⁸ Die früher uniformen Gesichter weisen zunehmend persönliche Züge auf. Dem Stil nach gehört die Stockholmer Maske der mittellägyptischen Gruppe zu und kann in das I. Jahrhundert n. Chr. datiert werden.⁹ Das in der Mitte gescheitelte herabfallende Haar¹⁰ und die Form der Maske können in der Datierung gewissermassen als Wegweiser dienen. Der Einfluss der römischen Haartracht wird im Lauf der Zeit stärker, und im II. Jahrhundert werden bedeutende Umwandlungen in der Formgebung bemerkbar. Haarneste und Kranzflechte geben den Masken einen veränderten Ausdruck. Eine weitere Neuerung ist im II. Jahrhundert das Erscheinen von aufgerichteten Köpfen.¹¹ Wenn auch mit dem Weiterleben älterer Formen im II. Jahrhundert gerechnet werden muss, hat eine Datierung des Stückes in das I. Jahrhundert mehr Wahrscheinlichkeit.

Masken und Leichentücher bilden für das tiefere Verständnis der Jenseitsvorstellungen der Römerzeit eine wichtige Quelle. Auch die Dekoration des Stockholmer Stückes zeigt Einzelheiten, die wir kurz besprechen möchten.

Werfen wir zuerst einen Blick auf das Bild des Sonnenaufgangs (Szene II.). Diese Darstellung erinnert gewissermassen an eine Illustration des *Buches von der Erde*. Dort ragt ein Kopf aus der Erde, der seine beiden Arme emporstreckt. Eine auf dem Kopf stehende Göttin streckt ebenfalls ihre Arme empor. Zwischen ihren Armen schwebt die Sonnenscheibe.¹² Von ikonographischer Seite besteht sicher eine gewisse Verwandtschaft zwischen den beiden Darstellungen, doch muss unseres Erachtens die Lösung in einem anderen Unterweltbuch gesucht werden. Es muss vorerst darauf

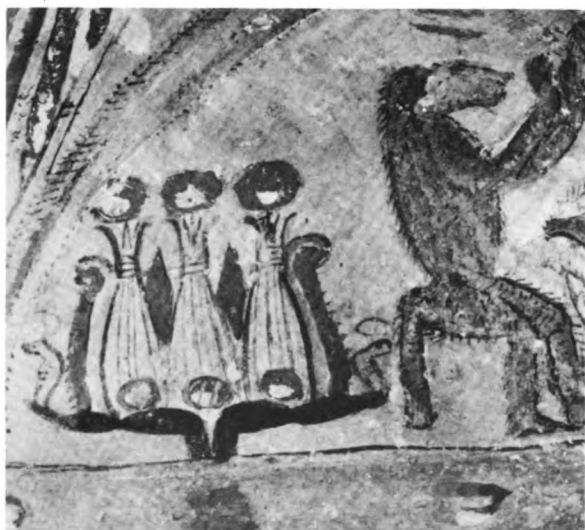


Abb. 3 a-c.



Abb. 4.

Abb. 5.



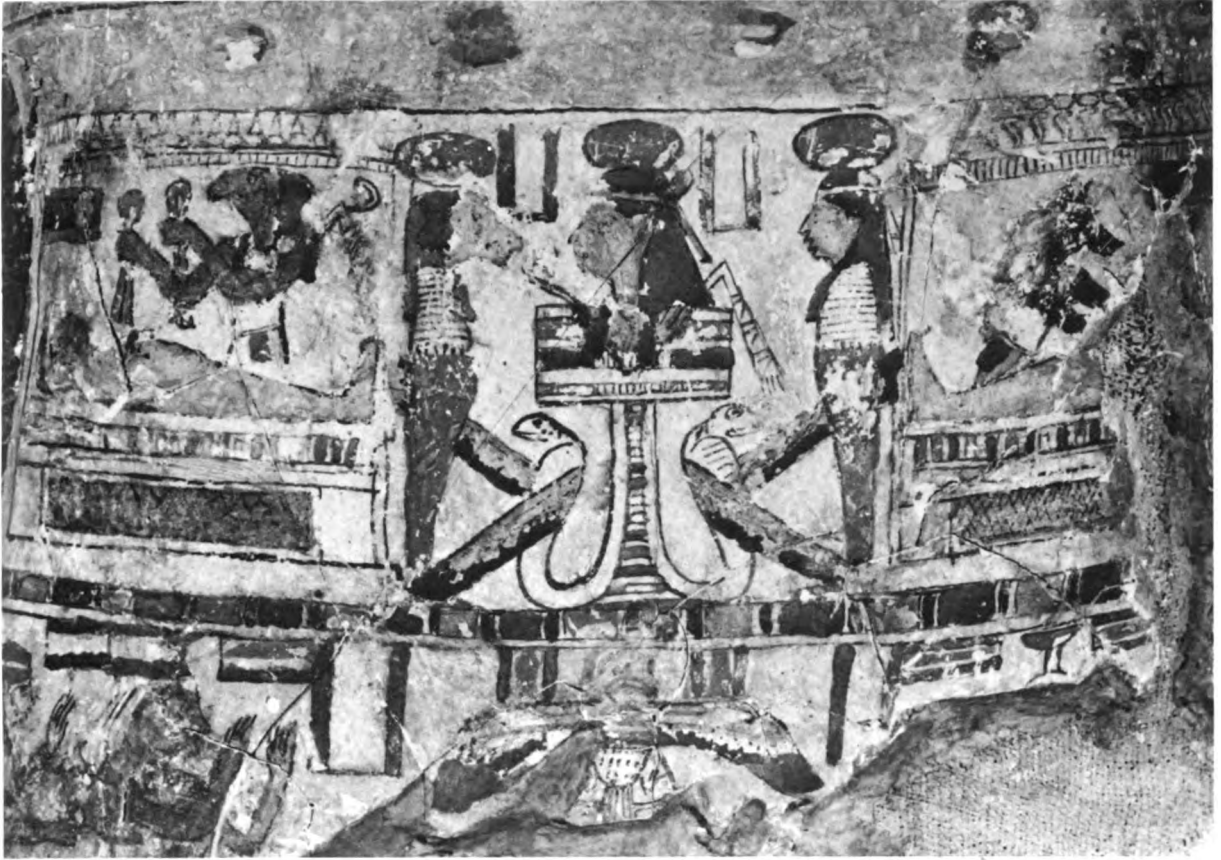


Abb. 6

hingewiesen werden, dass der Mann auf der Maske höchstwahrscheinlich nicht aus der Erde hervorkommt. Mit den Lotosblüten dürfte der Künstler vielmehr das Wasser angedeutet haben. Demnach möchten wir die Szene als eine vereinfachte Form des Schlussbildes im *Pfortenbuch* ansehen. Der Gott Nun, das Urwasser, erhebt sich dort aus dem Wasser und hebt mit seinen Armen die Sonnenbarke empor,¹³ (Abb. 7). „Nun. Diese beiden Arme treten aus dem Wasser hervor, sie erheben diesen Gott“ (d.h. den Sonnengott).¹⁴ Da einzelne Teile des *Pfortenbuches* bis zur XXX. Dynastie auf Särgen erscheinen,¹⁵ gibt es aus chronologischer Hinsicht kein Hindernis für ein Weiterleben dieses Motivs bis in die Römerzeit. An die Stelle der Sonnenbarke tritt hier die Scheibe. Die Hefet-Affen (*hgt*), die den Sonnengott preisen, stammen nicht aus dem *Pfortenbuch*, sie kommen mehrfach in den Totenbuchhandschriften¹⁶ und auch in anderen Darstellungen vor. Dieser Kombination des Urwassers

mit den Affen kommt eine besondere Bedeutung zu, weil die Szene (Abb. 8) in dieser Form auch in Totenbüchern (Tb. Kap. 16) der Ptolemäerzeit belegt ist.¹⁷ Die Vignetten bilden eine Brücke zwischen dem *Pfortenbuch* und der Maske.

Die beiden Hemhem-Kronen (*hmhm*) zu beiden Seiten von Szene II. gehen auf altes Traditionsgut zurück. Auf die Rolle, die von den Kronen im älteren Totenglauben gespielt wurde, wollen wir hier nicht näher eingehen,¹⁸ soviel nur sei erwähnt, dass seit den Pyramidentexten¹⁹ bis zur Römerzeit die Kronen in den Totentexten auftauchen und manchmal auch der Wunsch nach einem königlichen Schicksal im Jenseits zur Sprache kommt.²⁰ In der griechisch-römischen Zeit sind sowohl die Königs- als auch die Götterkronen mit besonderer Vorliebe als Dekorationsmotive verwendet worden, und zwar nicht nur in Ägypten selbst, sondern überall im Römischen Reich, wo der Kult der ägyptischen Götter erschien, (Terrakotten, Produkte der Me-

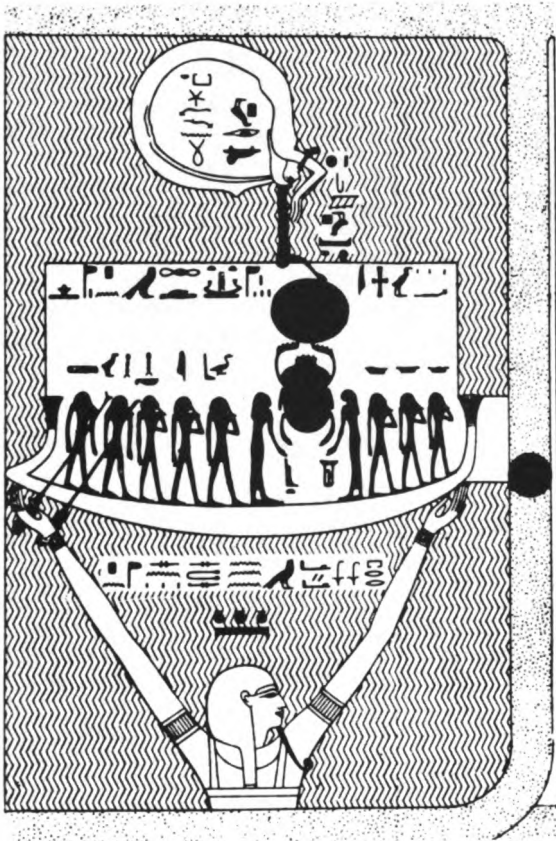


Abb. 7.

talkunst, Münzen, Metopen, Antefixe). In den meisten Fällen liegt dieser Kronendekoration keine tiefere religiöse Bedeutung zugrunde. Anders müssen dagegen die Kronen in sepulchralem Zusammenhang, in Gräbern und in der Grabsausstattung beurteilt werden. In einem Exemplar des *Zweiten Buches vom Atmen* aus dem I-II. Jahrhundert n. Chr.²¹ wird der verstorbene Frau zugesagt, dass ihre Annalen in der Schrift des Thot unter dem heiligen Ischedbaum von Atum selbst verfertigt werden. Der Verstorbenen kommt also ein königliches Ritual zu. Auf einem Mumienbelag aus der Ptolemäerzeit wird der Verstorbene mit der Atefkronen auf seinem Kopf abgebildet. Vor ihm steht auch ein Königsring, womit angedeutet wird, dass die Atefkronen ihn nicht nur als *Osiris-N.* darstellt, sondern auch als Symbol seiner neuen Königswürde gilt.²² Auf einer Mumie in Leiden wird die Doppelkronen abgebildet,²³ und zwischen den Füßen des Artemidoros ist auf seinem Mumienbelag eine Götterkronen zu sehen.²⁴

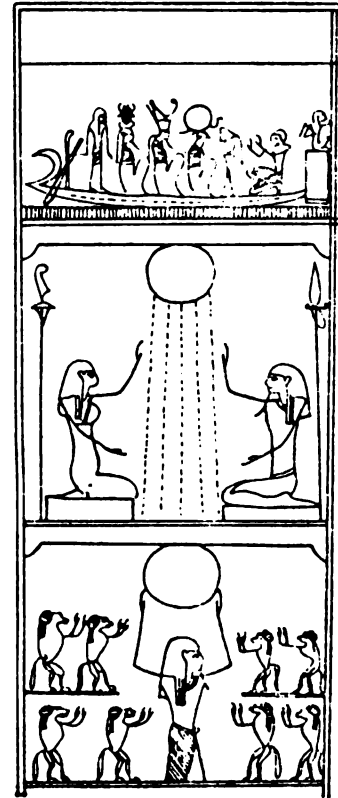






Abb. 8.

Auch für die Verwendung der Hemhem-Kronen in der sepulchralen Kunst der Kaiserzeit liegt ein wichtiger Beleg vor. Auf der Grabstele des Isidoros (erste Hälfte des II. Jahrhunderts)²⁵ trägt der Verstorbene diese Krone als Kopfschmuck. Durch den Thyrsos und den sitzenden Panther wird er als Dionysos-Osiris angesehen. Es erhebt sich die Frage nach der Funktion dieser Krone auf der Stele und der Stockholmer Maske. Wenn es sich um das Werden zu Osiris handelte, würde man eher die Atefkronen erwarten. Doch wurden die beiden Kronen zu dieser Zeit aus religiöser Hinsicht bereits als gleichwertig angesehen. Auf dem hieratischen Pap. Carlsberg VII. (wahrscheinlich aus dem I. Jahrhundert n. Chr.) liest man den folgenden Satz: „Hemhem ist der grosse Atef des Re und des Osiris.“²⁶ Die Kronen auf der Maske brachten also die Osiris-Natur der Verstorbenen zum Ausdruck, sie dürften aber daneben auch auf ihre Königswürde hingewiesen haben.

Der osirianische Totenglaube ist auch in Szenen III., IV. und VI. vorherrschend. Etwas fremdartig mutet Szene IV. mit der Tötung der Feinde an. Obwohl der Sieg über die Gegner in der Totenliteratur des öfteren betont wird, ist eine derartige direkte Darstellung dieses Themas im sepulchralen Kontext ungewöhnlich. Die Bilder der Götterfeinde und der Verdammten in den Jenseitsführern des Neuen Reiches²⁷ weisen nur eine entfernte Verwandtschaft mit der Szene auf der Maske auf. Wir möchten vielmehr das Bild auf Tempelreliefs, d.h. auf die triumphale Symbolik in Edfu zurückführen. Auf der inneren westlichen Seite der Umfassungsmauer wurden die Szenen des Horusmythos angebracht. Auf einem Bild wird ein kniender Götterfeind von Horus, Sohn der Isis und von Horus von Edfu erstochen.²⁸ Die Komposition ist ähnlich der eines anderen Bildes, wo ein kniender Gefangener und ein Nilpferd von dem König, bzw. von Horus von Edfu getötet werden.²⁹

Szene VI. Der vermenschlichte Djed-Pfeiler ist ein oft verwendetes Element des ägyptischen Motivschatzes.³⁰ In der griechisch-römischen Zeit blieb die osirianische Symbolik des Pfeilers bekannt. Auf einer Maske im Ägyptischen Museum Kairo wird ein Osiris-Djed mit Atefkrone von Isis und Nephthys angebetet. Der Schaft geht gleicherweise in Schlangen über, wie auf der Stockholmer Maske.³¹ Auch auf dem Papyrus Rhind I. aus der Zeit des Augustus wird ein anthropomorphisierter Djed abgebildet.³² Durch den Frauenkopf des Pfeilers auf der Stockholmer Maske wollte man offenbar die Verstorbene mit dem Osirissymbol identifizieren.

Wegen ihrer abweichenden Natur haben wir die

Erörterung von Szene I. dem Schlussteil unseres Artikels vorbehalten. Der Sinnzusammenhang zwischen Skarabäus und Geier kann durch eine Stelle in Horapollos Hieroglyphika geklärt werden. Nach Horapollon zeichnen die Ägypter, wenn sie den Namen Hephaistos (Ptah) schreiben, einen Skarabäus und einen Geier. Wenn sie Athena (Neith) schreiben, einen Geier und einen Skarabäus.³³ Im Schriftsystem der Ptolemäer- und Römerzeit konnte ein Beinamen des Ptah, Ten (*T3-tnn*) mit den Zeichen   (*T + n*) und die Göttin Neith mit   (*N + t*) geschrieben werden.³⁴ Nach Horapollon wurde damit die Mannweiblichkeit der Athena zum Ausdruck gebracht. Auch in den ägyptischen Quellen erscheint Neith als eine der wenigen mannweiblichen Gottheiten,³⁵ in der bildenden Kunst wird sie jedoch als Göttin abgebildet. Zur Römerzeit kommt ihre Schöpferrolle in den Hymnen des Tempels in Esna besonders stark zum Ausdruck.³⁶ Zur osirianischen und solaren (Sonnenaufgang) Symbolik gesellt sich durch den kryptographischen Hinweis auf die Namen der beiden grossen Schöpfergottheiten die Idee des Anfangs, wodurch der Verstorbenen im Jenseits eine Neugeburt versprochen wird.

Die Komposition der Darstellungen der Maske dürfte von einem Priester geplant worden sein. Sie besteht nicht aus gedankenlos neben einander gestellten gängigen Klischees, sondern bekundet in ihrem klaren Aufbau, dass der Planer in dieser Zeit des Abstiegs der altägyptischen Kultur in der Totenliteratur und in der religiösen Ikonographie noch wohlbewandert war und durch die Auswahl der Bilder den zentralen Ideen des Totenglaubens eine gründlich durchdachte Ausdrucksform verleihen konnte.

¹ Inv. Nr.: MM 14957. Abgebildet in: 5000 år egyptisk konst, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm 1961 auf Taf. ohne Nr. Kat. Nr. 225. Für das Publikationsrecht und für die Fotos möchte ich meinen herzlichen Dank Herrn Dr. B. J. Peterson aussprechen.

² Vgl. z.B. H. De Meulenaere, *Scarabaeus sacer*, 1972, Abb. auf S. 20.

³ Auch die Darstellungen des Benu-Vogels dürften das Bild beeinflusst haben.

⁴ E. Chassinat, *Dendara II.* 89, 102, Taf. CXIV. Reg. II und Abb. 6. auf S. 101, usw.

⁵ Die Probleme des Mischstils wurden von L. Castiglione behandelt. (*Dualité du style dans l'art sépulcral égyptien à l'époque romaine*, *Acta Antiqua Hung.* 9, 1961, 209 ff.)

⁶ G. Grimm, *Die römischen Mumienmasken aus Ägypten*, Wiesbaden 1974.

⁷ Kl. Parlasca, *Mumienporträts und verwandte Denkmäler*, Wiesbaden 1966.

⁸ Grimm 45 f.

⁹ Grimm 72, Anm. 110.

¹⁰ Grimm 76 f.

¹¹ Grimm 78.

- ¹² E. Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltbücher*, Zürich, München 1972, 436 f, Abb. 87.
- ¹³ A. Piankoff, *Le Livre des Portes III.*, Le Caire 1962, 163, Abb. 1.
- ¹⁴ Piankoff III. 180.
- ¹⁵ E. Hornung, *Altägyptische Höllenvorstellungen*, ASAW 59, 1968, 9, Anm. 7.
- ¹⁶ Siehe z. B. K. Sethe, *Altägyptische Vorstellungen vom Lauf der Sonne*, SPAW 1928, 15 ff.
- ¹⁷ Sethe 20. Th. G. Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum at the University of Chicago (OIP 81)*, Chicago 1960, Taf. LVIII. Pap. Milbank (10486 M), Ptolemäerzeit.
- ¹⁸ Das Thema wird in einem Artikel (Die Kronen im spätägyptischen Totenglauben) behandelt werden.
- ¹⁹ Z. B. Pyr. 805.
- ²⁰ Siehe Tb. Kap. 80. E. A. W. Budge: *The Coming forth by Day of the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead II.*, London 1910, 38; Kap. 125 (Ch. Maystre, *Les déclarations d'innocence*, Le Caire 1937, 95), Kap. 135 (Budge II. 184).
- ²¹ W. Golénischeff, *Papyrus hiératiques (CG)*, Le Caire 1927, 29, (CG 58007).
- ²² Szépművészeti Museum, Budapest Inv. Nr. 51.2111. Abgebildet in: Kákosy, *Selige und Verdammte ...*, ZÄS 97, 1971, 100, Abb. 3, S. Morenz, *Das Problem des Werdens zu Osiris in der griechisch-römischen Zeit Ägyptens*, in: *Religions en Egypte hellénistique et romaine*, Paris 1969, bei S. 80, Fig. 1.
- ²³ W. D. van Wijngaarden. *Een grieks-egyptische Mummie*, OMRO 23, 1942, 3.
- ²⁴ Abgebildet z.B. in: *A General Introductory Guide to the Egyptian Collection in the British Museum*, London 1975, 226 Abb. 81 (I. E. S. Edwards – T. G. H. James – A. F. Shore).
- ²⁵ G. Grimm – D. Johannes, *Kunst der Ptolemäer- und Römerzeit im Ägyptischen Museum Kairo*, Mainz 1975, Taf. 27.
- ²⁶ E. Iversen, *Fragments of a Hieroglyphic Dictionary*, in: *Historisk-filologiske Skrifter udgivet af det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab Bd. 3 Nr. 2*, København 1958, 25.
- ²⁷ Z. B. *Amduat Teil VII*. (Hornung, in Anm. 12. zit. Werk Abb. 7, oberes Register), *Pfortenbuch IX.* (ebd. Abb. 49), *Höhlenbuch Abschnitt 1, 6* (ebd. Abb. 76, 80).
- ²⁸ *Edfou X. Taf. CXLVII. Reg. II.*, *Edfou VI.* 120 ff.
- ²⁹ *Edfou X. Taf. CXLVI. Reg. I.*, *Edfou VI.* 86 f.
- ³⁰ Bonnet, *RÄRG*, 150 f. Auf Djed siehe auch Stichwort Djed-Pfeiler in LÄ I. 1100 ff. (H. Altenmüller).
- ³¹ C. C. Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins, Masks and Portraits (CG)*, Le Caire 1905, 25. Taf. XIII. (CG 33.132).
- ³² Seite 7. G. Möller, *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind des Museums zu Edinburgh*, Leipzig 1913, G. Roeder, *Der Ausklang der ägyptischen Religion mit Reformation, Zauberei und Jenseitsglauben (Die ägyptische Religion in Text und Bild IV.)*, Zürich, Stuttgart 1961, Abb. 29.
- ³³ Horapollon I. 12 (Hopfner, *Fontes*, 581). Ἡραίοιστον δὲ γράφοντες κάρθαρων [καὶ γῦπα] ζωγραφούσιν, Ἀθηναῖν δὲ, γῦπα καὶ κάρθαρον Die Lesung *n* des Geiers: S. Sauneron, *Esna I*, Le Caire 1959, 51, usw. Skarabäus und Geier wurden auf der Maske aus ikonographischen Gründen mit ausgebreiteten Flügeln dargestellt.
- ³⁴ B. Van de Walle – J. Vergote, *Traduction des Hieroglyphica d'Horapollon*, CdE 35, 1943, 54. f.
- ³⁵ Bonnet, *RÄRG*, 515.
- ³⁶ Z. B. S. Sauneron: *Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna (Esna V.)*, Le Caire 1962, 110 ff, 280 ff, usw.

Supplementary Material from Enkomi Tombs 3, 7, 11 and 18 s.c.

Kjell Andersson

In the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities (Medelhavsmuseet) in Stockholm, there is still a large amount of material from the excavations carried out by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition in the period 1927–31 which has not yet been published.¹ Most of the unpublished material consists of sherds. There are about 5000 boxes of sherds in the storeroom, but there is also some material that has been put together from sherds. Most of these vases have also been restored. There are also some incomplete vases and a few complete ones.

The bronzes in this supplementary material have also been put together from fragments and in some cases restored.

The purpose of this article is to present supplementary material from Enkomi Tombs 3, 7, 11 and 18 s.c. that has been put together from sherds and restored. The Enkomi Tombs have been published by the late Professor Erik Sjöqvist.²

The material will be presented in a catalogue and in diagrams.

CATALOGUE

Tomb 3 (Plate 1–2)

Acc 712a. Mycenaean III A 2 jug.

Depressed, ovoid body; short, narrow, concave neck; flat, rounded, everted rim; oval handle from rim to shoulder; flat base. Buff clay, smooth, pinkish-buff slip, red-to-brown, glossy paint. On body, two groups of four and five encircling lines, at transition from neck to shoulder, an encircling band, at base, two encircling bands, rim and outer part of handle solid paint.

H. 12.2 cm. D 11.0 cm.

Acc 712b. Mycenaean III A 2-III B stirrup jar.

Piriform body; short, tapering, false neck with flat disc; two flat handles from the disc to the shoulder; short, tapering spout; everted rim; base-ring. Buff clay, smooth slip of a lighter colour, dark-red to brown, glossy paint. Encircling bands and lines on body, solid paint on outer part of handles, encircling band round the base of the false neck and spout, concentric circles on disc, solid paint on foot. Multiple stem and tongue pattern on shoulder.

H. 15.7 cm.

Acc 712c. Mycenaean III A 2-III B stirrup jar.

Piriform body; short, tapering, false neck with flat disc; two flat handles from the disc to the shoulder; short, tapering spout; everted rim; base-ring. Buff clay, smooth, buff slip, dark-red to brown, glossy paint. Encircling bands and lines on body, encircling band round the base of the false neck and spout, concentric circles on disc, solid paint on foot. Rock pattern and multiple stem on shoulder.

H. 15.5 cm.

Acc 712d. Mycenaean III A 2 stirrup jar.

Depressed, globular body; short, tapering, false neck with flat disc; two oval handles from the disc to the shoulder; short, tapering spout; everted rim; base-ring. Pinkish-buff clay, smooth, buff slip, dark-red to brown, glossy paint. Encircling bands and lines on body, solid paint on outer part of handles, except for a small, reserved triangle on the upper part, encircling band round the base of the false neck, the rim and the base of the spout. Reserved circle on false neck, Solid paint on foot. Foliate bands on the shoulder.

H. 15.1 cm.

Acc 712e. Mycenaean III A 2 stirrup jar.

Globular body; short, tapering neck with flat disc; two oval handles from the disc to the shoulder; short, tapering spout; everted rim; base-ring. Buff clay, smooth, buff slip, dark-red, rather glossy paint. Encircling bands and lines on body. Solid paint on outer part of handles. Encircling band round the base of the false neck, the rim and the base of the spout. Reserved circle on disc. Flower pattern on shoulder.

H. 15.1 cm.

Acc 712f. Mycenaean III A 2 stirrup jar.

Biconical, depressed body; short, tapering, false neck with flat disc; two oval handles from the disc to the shoulder; short, tapering spout; everted rim; flat base. Pinkish-buff clay, smooth, pinkish-buff slip, red, semi-glossy paint. Encircling bands and lines on body and shoulder. Solid paint on outer part of handles. Encircling band round the base of the false neck, the rim and the base of the spout. Concentric circles on disc.

H. 10.0 cm.

Acc 712g. Mycenaean III A 2 flask.

Depressed, globular body; narrow, concave neck; everted rim; oval, somewhat raised, vertical handles from mid-neck to shoulder; raised, flat base. Light-buff clay, smooth slip of a lighter colour, dark-brown to black, glossy paint. Encircling bands on body, shoulder and neck, solid paint on outer part of handles. Decoration very much worn.

H. 9.3 cm.

Acc 712h. Mycenaean III A 2 pyxis.

Cylindrical body; convex shoulder; short, narrow, concave neck; sloping rim; two small, round, horizontal handles on shoulder; convex base. Buff clay, smooth, buff slip, dark-red to dark-brown paint. The interior of the rim, the exterior of the neck and the outer parts of the handles are painted. Encircling lines and bands on body and shoulder. V-patterns horizontally placed between the handles. Concentric lines on base.

H. 6.2 cm. D. 10.1 cm.

Acc 712i. Mycenaean III A 1-2 cup.

Shallow body; rounded, out-curved rim; flat, vertical handle from rim to lower part of body; base-ring. Reddish-buff clay, smooth slip of a lighter colour, red, glossy paint. The main zone of the body is decorated with a N-pattern. Bands and lines encircle lower part of

body. Band on rim. Solid paint on outer part of handle. Concentric circle at bottom. Decoration and slip very worn.

H. 4.0 cm. D. 10.9 cm.

Acc. 712j. Mycenaean III A 2 cup.

Shallow body; rounded, out-curved rim; oval, vertical handle from rim to lower part of body; flat, raised foot. Buff clay, smooth, buff slip, red, glossy paint. The decoration of the main zone of the outside body consists of a U-pattern. Encircling bands and lines on lower part of body. Encircling band on rim. Solid paint on outer part of handle.

H. 3.5 cm. D. 12.1 cm.

Acc 712k. Mycenaean III A 2 cup.

Shallow body; rounded, out-curved rim; oval, vertical handle from rim to lower part of body; raised base-ring. Buff clay, smooth, buff slip, red, glossy paint. On lower part of body, encircling bands and lines. Encircling band on rim and below it. Solid paint on outer part of handle.

H. 3.5 cm. D. 12.0 cm.

Acc 712l. Mycenaean III B(?) bowl.

Shallow body; flat rim; horizontal, string-hole projection at rim; flat base; black, matt paint. Encircling bands on body and round base. Probably encircling band below rim. Encircling band on inside of bowl.

H. 2.9 cm. D. 10.4 cm.

Acc 712m. Mycenaean III B-III C 1 bowl.

Shallow body; splayed, rounded rim; flat, horizontal handle at rim; base-ring. Pinkish-buff clay, smooth, buff slip, red, glossy paint. On mid-body, encircling bands. Encircling band on rim. Solid paint on outer part of handle. Encircling band on base. On inside of bowl, encircling shell-pattern framed by double encircling lines. At bottom, encircling lines.

H. 4.8 cm. D. 17.4 cm.

Acc 931. Bronze bowl.

Hemispherical body, plain rim, round base.

H. 7.0 cm. D. 17.9 cm.

Acc 958. Monochrome bowl.

Roughly hemispherical body; concave rim; cylindrical lug horizontally pierced at rim; ring-base; greyish clay. About one-third of bowl missing.

H. 5.5 cm. D. 18.5 cm.

Bibl.: SCE, IV: 1C, p. 98, type IV.K.

Acc 961. Sherd of Red Lustrous Wheel-made ware.
Body-sherd of a pilgrim flask. Red clay. Stroke-burnished.
L. 7.9 cm.

Acc 964. Black Lustrous Wheel-made jug.
Not seen.

Acc 965. Black Lustrous Wheel-made jug
Not seen.

Hand-made	Pottery					Bronze
	Wheel-made					
Monochrome	Red Lustrous	Black Lustrous	Myc. III A2	Myc. III B	Myc. III B-C1	Bowl
958	961	964 965	712a 712b 712c 712d 712e 712f 712g 712h 712i 712j 712k	712l	712m	931

Tomb 7 (Plate 3-6)

Acc 355a. Mycenaean III A2 jug with cut-away neck.
Piriform body; narrow, concave neck, cutaway; out-turned, flat rim; ribbed, oval handle from rim to shoulder; base-ring. Buff clay, smooth, buff slip, red, glossy paint. Curved stripes, five in groups, alternating with curved bands on body, solid paint on outer side of handle, solid band on rim, below rim, three horizontal lines, on lower part of neck, three encircling lines, an encircling line at transition from neck to shoulder, upper part of base encircling band, on base solid paint.
H. 30.6 cm. D. 21.2 cm.
Bibl.: SCE, IV:1C, p. 330, type 133c.

Acc 355b. Red Lustrous Wheel-made spindle bottle.
Slender body; narrow, tapering neck; flat, carinated rim; horizontal, round mouth; oval handle from upper part of neck to shoulder. Brick-red clay, red, lustrous slip.
H. 30.6 cm. D. 6.2 cm.
Bibl.: SCE, IV:1C, p. 201, type VI.1.b.

Acc 355c. Plain White Wheel-made I bottle.
Oblong, bobbin-shaped body; narrow, concave neck; carinated rim; disc-shaped ring-base; oval handle from upper neck to shoulder; ridge on neck at the junction of the handle.
H. 30.0 cm. D. 8.9 cm.
Bibl.: SCE, IV:1C, p. 250, type 1.c.

Acc 355d. Plain White Wheel-made I? amphora.
Conical body; marked shoulderline; angular shoulder; raised rim, round mouth; slightly rounded base; broad, vertical, oval handles below shoulderline. Yellowish-white clay.
H. 48.0 cm. D. 27.0 cm.

Acc 355e. Plain White Hand-made jug.
Slightly rounded body; wide, slightly concave neck; round, horizontal mouth; rounded rim; flat base; thick, round handle from rim to shoulder. Brownish buff clay.
H. 16.4 cm.

Acc 355f. Plain White Hand-made jug.
10 bodyfragments. Buffish clay.
L. of largest frag. 24.0 cm.

Acc 355g. Plain White Wheel-made II jug.
Conical-piriform body; short, tapering neck; round mouth; bead rim; base-ring; flat handle from mid-neck to shoulder. Greyish-buff clay. One-third of body missing.
H. 20.9 cm.
Bibl.: SCE, IV:1C, p. 256, type VI. E.1.c.

Acc 355h. Plain White Wheel-made I shallow bowl.
Roughly hemispherical body; plain rim; small, round, horizontal wish-bone handle below rim; round base. Buff clay.
H. 4.8 cm. D. 13.3. cm.
Bibl.: SCE, IV:1C, p. 233, type I.A.c.

Acc 355i. Plain White Wheel-made I shallow bowl.
Roughly hemispherical body; plain rim; small, round loop-handle below rim; round base. Buffish clay.

H. 4.2 cm. D. 12.9 cm.

Bibl.: SCE, IV:1C, p. 232, type I.A.b.

Acc 355k. Plain White Wheel-made I bowl.

Roughly hemispherical body; plain rim; vertical wish-bone handle below rim; flat base. Buff clay.

H. 4.9 cm. D. 11.8 cm.

Bibl.: SCE, IV:1C, p. 234, type I.C.c.

Acc 355l. Plain White Wheel-made I shallow bowl.

Roughly hemispherical body; plain rim; vertical, wish-bone handle below rim; flat base. Buff clay.

H. 4.5 cm. D. 12.6 cm.

Bibl.: SCE, IV:1C, p. 234, type I.C.c.

Acc 355m. Plain White Wheel-made I shallow bowl.

Roughly hemispherical body; plain rim; flat base; handle and part of body missing. Buff clay.

H. 4.4 cm. D. 10.5 cm.

Bibl.: SCE, IV:1C, p. 234, type I.C.c.

Acc 355n. Plain White Wheel-made I bowl.

Roughly hemispherical body; plain rim; flat base; round, horizontal, somewhat raised handle. Buff clay.

H. 4.4 cm. D. 10.5 cm.

Acc 355o. White Shaved jug.

Spindle-shaped body; short, narrow neck; trefoil mouth; flat, somewhat raised handle from rim to shoulder; pointed base. Buff clay.

H. 17.5 cm.

Bibl.: SCE, IV:1C, p. 222, type I.a.

Acc 355p. White Shaved jug.

Oval body; short, narrow neck; flattened base; upper part of neck with rim and part of handle missing. Buff clay.

Preserved H. 11.0 cm.

Bibl.: SCE, IV:1C, p. 224, type I.b.

Acc 355q. White Shaved jug.

Spindle-shaped body; short, narrow neck; trefoil mouth; pointed base; handle missing. Buff clay.

H. 16.3 cm.

Bibl.: SCE, IV:1C, p. 222, type I.a.

Acc 355r. Black Slip IV jug.

Ovoid body; wide, tapering neck; pinched mouth; flattened base; oval, somewhat raised handle from rim to shoulder. Part of rim missing. Greyish-buff clay. No slip preserved.

H. 18.0 cm.

See SCE, IV:1C, p. 77, type V.B.2.a.

Acc 355s. Black Slip IV juglet.

Ovoid body; short, slightly concave neck; round mouth; round base; round vertical, somewhat raised handle from rim to lower part of body. Buff clay, part of black slip visible.

H. 4.5 cm.

Acc 355t. White Painted Wheel-made III jug.

Oval body; narrow, concave neck; flattened base; tubular side-spout on shoulder; upper part of neck, rim and handle missing. Greenish-buff clay, buff, matt slip, reddish-brown paint. Encircling line round lower part of neck, vertical lines on body.

Preserved H. 9.7 cm.

See SCE, IV:1C, p. 286, type X.a.

Acc 355u. Base-Ring Wheel-made bowl.

Y-shaped body; concave neck; ring-base; high, raised, wish-bone handle. Red clay, light-brown to brown, faintly lustrous slip. Part of body missing.

H. 4.3 cm. D. 9.5 cm.

Bibl.: SCE, IV:1C, p. 198, type I.c.

Acc 355v. White Slip II bowl.

Hemispherical body; flat rim; round base; slightly raised, triangular, wish-bone handle. Greyish clay, buff slip, dark-brown paint. Encircling, four-line, ladder pattern below rim; on body, vertical, four-line, ladder pattern alternating with vertical row of dots and two-line, ladder pattern; on handle, four groups of four vertical strokes, painted round handle attachment and on sides of handle.

H. 9.8 cm. D. 19.0 cm.

Acc 355x. Red Lustrous Wheel-made wide bowl.

Sherds. Not seen.

Bibl: SCE, IV:1C, p. 199, type I.a.

Acc 355y. Red Lustrous Wheel-made bowl.

Consisting of sherds and fragment. Globular body; flattened rim; round, vertical handle below rim. Brick-red clay, brick-red slip.

Preserved H. 16.0 cm, (not pictured).

Acc 681. White Shaved jug.

Spindle-shaped body; short, narrow neck; pinched mouth; pointed base; flat handle from rim to shoulder.

Buff clay.

H. 18.4 cm.

Bibl.: SCE, IV:1C, p. 222, type I.a.

Acc 682. Plain White Wheel-made I shallow bowl.

Roughly hemispherical body; rounded shoulder; everted rim; flat base; vertical, string-hole projection at rim. Buffish clay.

H. 3.2 cm. D. 13.2 cm.

Bibl.: SCE, IV:1C, p. 236, type I.K.b.

Acc 713a. White Slip I bowl.

Hemispherical body; rounded rim; round base; up-tilted, wish-bone handle. Brownish-red clay, greyish-white slip, brown paint. Encircling, wavy line on rim, below rim, a horizontal frieze consisting of hatched lozenges framed by a pair of parallel, horizontal lines, no frieze in front and above the handle, on the sides of the bowl, five pendent groups of two vertical lines, in front, two parallel, vertical, wavy lines bordered by row of dots and framed by two groups of two parallel, vertical lines. Below handle, three groups of two parallel, vertical lines, painted round handle attachment, on handle, four parallel lines.

H. 9.0 cm. D. 19.0 cm.

Acc 713b. Plain White Wheel-made I wide bowl.

Roughly hemispherical body; carinated shoulder; everted rim; ring-base; horizontal, string-hole projection at rim. One-third of bowl missing. Buffish clay.

H. 4.1 cm. D. 18.3 cm.

Bibl.: SCE, IV:1C, p. 240, type IV.K.d.

Acc 713c. Plain White Wheel-made I wide bowl.

Roughly hemispherical body; rounded, slightly inverted rim; raised ring-base. Reddish clay. More than half of bowl missing.

H. 6.5 cm. D. 19.8 cm.

Acc 713d. Plain White Wheel-made I bowl.

Roughly hemispherical body; flat rim; flat base; vertical, string-hole projection at rim. Buffish clay. About one-quarter of bowl missing.

H. 4.4 cm. D. 12.1 cm.

Acc 713e. Plain White Wheel-made I bowl.

Roughly hemispherical body; carinated shoulder; everted rim; flat base. Buffish clay. One-quarter of bowl missing.

H. 3.2 cm. D. 9.1 cm.

Hand-made		Pottery Wheel-made										
White Slip I	White Slip II	Black Slip IV	White Shaved	Plain White	Base-Ring	Red Lustrous	Plain White I	Plain White II	White Painted III	Myc. III A2	Myc. III B	
713a	355v	355r 355s	355o 355p 355q 681	355e 355f	355u	355b 355x 355y 960	355c 355d 355h 355i 355k 355l 355m 355n 682 713b 713c 713d 713e	355g	355t	355a 713g	713f	

Acc 713f. Mycenaean III B stirrup jar.

Depressed, globular body; short, tapering, false neck with flat disc; two oval handles from the disc to the shoulder; short, tapering spout; everted rim; flat base. Buffish clay. No traces of slip and decoration. About half of jar missing.

H. 11.5 cm.

Acc 713g. Mycenaean III A2 crater.

Ovoid body; everted, inward-sloping rim; raised, flat base; vertical, round handles on shoulder. Buffish-grey clay, no slip visible, dark-brown to black paint. Solid paint on rim, three encircling, broad bands on body below handles, a broad, encircling band at transition to base.

H. 23.1 cm. D. 26.3 cm.

Acc 960. Red Lustrous Wheel-made bottle. Fragments. Not seen.

Tomb 11 (Plate 7-8)

Acc 708. 'Rude Style' crater.

Bell-shaped; flat, out-turned rim; two opposed, horizontal, loop handles on shoulder; ring-base. Greyish clay, smooth, buff slip, red, glossy paint. On shoulder zone, side A: leaf-tree pattern, between circles with dotted filling. On shoulder zone, side B: stylised, spiral motifs and concentric circles. Solid paint on rim and outer part of handles. Below rim, a broad, encircling band. Solid paint on base. Below handles, three broad, encircling bands. Under base, a potmark X.

H. 18.2 cm. D. 22.0 cm.

Acc 932. Bronze bowl.

Hemispherical body; rounded rim; rounded base; now in fragments.

Acc 953. White Painted Wheel-made II crater.

Almost globular body; tapering neck; everted rim; two oval, opposite, vertical handles from neck to shoulder; ring-base. Reddish clay, no slip visible, decoration very much worn.

H. 21.0 cm. D. 20.8 cm.

Bibl.: SCE, IV:1C, p. 274, type I.A.

Acc 954. Coarse jug.

Not seen.

Bibl.: SCE, IV:1C, p. 268, type VI.C.1.b.

Acc 955. Base-Ring I crater. Fragmentary.

Semiglobular body; carinated shoulder; high tapering neck; everted rim; lower part of body and base missing. Reddish-brown clay, reddish-brown slip. Relief ornament: on neck: Åström motif 93 (see SCE, IV:1C, p. 171), encircling rope pattern on shoulder, on body, encircling, wavy line in relief. About two-thirds of crater missing.

Preserved H. 18.0 cm. D. c. 26.0 cm.

Bibl.: SCE, IV:1C, p. 142, type II.a.

Acc 959. Monochrome bowl.

Somewhat wide, hemispherical body; carinated shoulder; concave rim; ring-base; horizontally pireded lug at rim. Brown clay, brown slip. About half of bowl missing.

H. 5.9 cm. D. 14.5 cm.

Bibl.: SCE, IV:1C, p. 96, type I.L.b.

Pottery		Bronze	
Hand-made	Wheel-made		
Base-Ring I	Monochrome	White Painted II	'Rude Style'
955	959	954	953
			708
			932

Tomb 18 s.c. (Plate 9)

Acc 933. Bronze bowl.

Hemispherical body; flat rim; round base. Put together from several fragments, heavily corroded.

H. 8.2 cm. D. 22.7 cm.

Acc 934. Bronze vessel (fragmentary).

Lower part of cylindrical, bronze vessel; concave body; flat base; everted rim. Put together from several fragments, heavily corroded.

Preserved H. 13.0 cm. D. of base 16.7 cm.

Acc 935. Bronze handle.

Semicircular bronze handle. One side flat and one side rounded. The flat side decorated with spiral motifs. The handle in two pieces. Was horizontally fixed on a vessel.

Th. 0.6 cm.

Bronze

Bowl	Vessel	Handle
933	934	935

The material from Tomb 3 presented here surely comes from one of the disturbed layers (layer 3 or 4).³ Most of the material from Tomb 3 in this article belongs to the Mycenaean III A2 phase and falls well within the date (Late Cypriote II) proposed by Sjöqvist.⁴

The supplementary material from Tomb 7 belongs to Tombs 7B and 7. The material from these tombs was mixed in disturbed layers from the dromos and the chamber.⁵ The dates for these two tombs are Late Cypriote I A–Late Cypriote III A.⁶ It is not possible to distinguish the finds and to attribute them to either Tomb 7B or Tomb 7.

The materials from Tombs 11 and 18 s.c. fall well within the dates proposed by Sjöqvist (Late Cypriote II).⁷

¹ For earlier supplementary work on material excavated by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition, see *Opuscula Atheniensia* II, 10 ff., III pp. 123 ff. and 135 ff. and IV, 207 ff.

² SCE, Vol. I, pp. 467 ff.

³ SCE, Vol. I, p. 477.

⁴ SCE, Vol. I, p. 485.

⁵ SCE, Vol. I, pp. 498–499.

⁶ SCE, Vol. I, p. 500.

⁷ SCE, Vol. I, p. 525 f. and 557 f.



Enkomi, Tomb 3. Acc. 712 a.

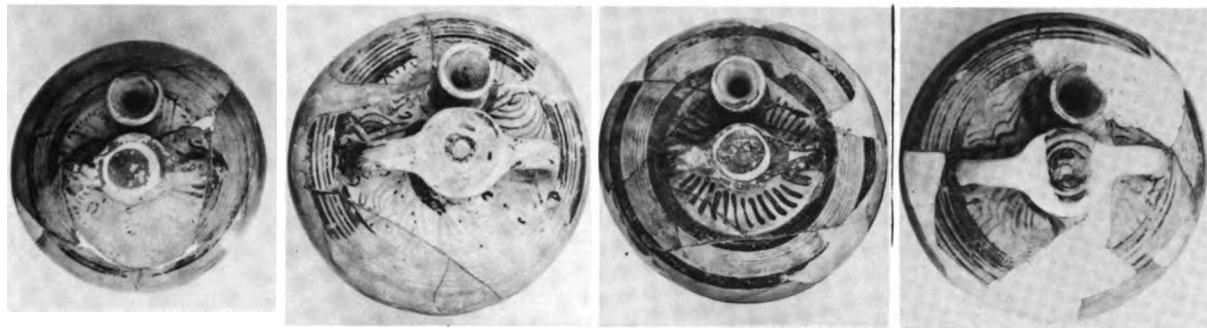


Enkomi, Tomb 3. Acc. 712 f.

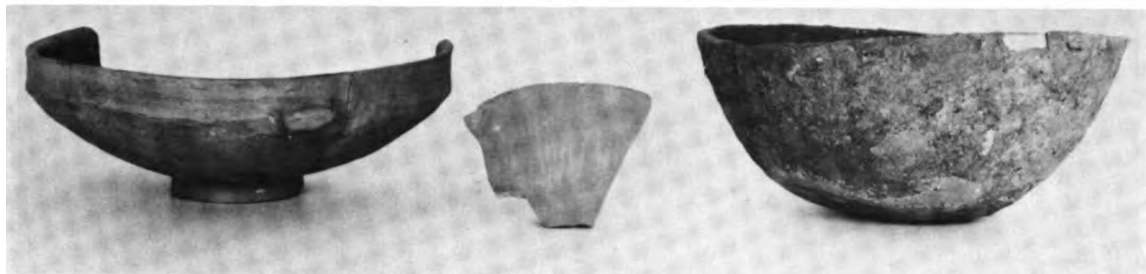


Enkomi, Tomb 3. Acc. 712 e, b, d, c.

Plate 1



Enkomi, Tomb 3. Acc. 712 e, b, d, c.

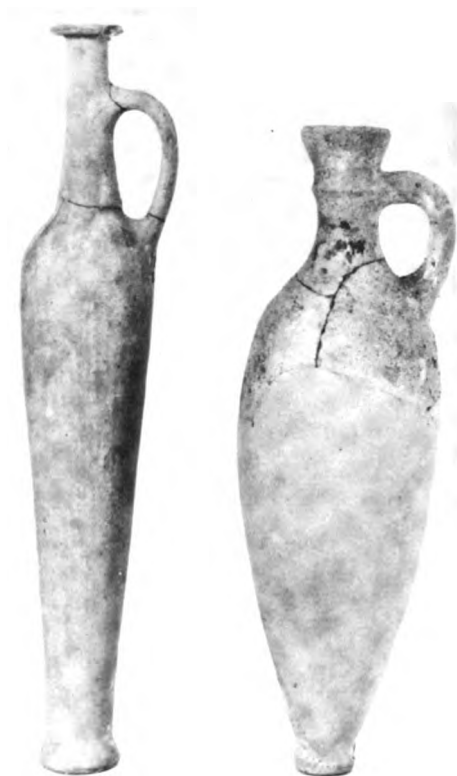


Enkomi, Tomb 3. Acc. 958, 961, 931.



Enkomi, Tomb 3. Acc. 712 g, d, m, j, i, k, h.

Plate 2



Enkomi, Tomb 7. Acc. 355 b, c.



Enkomi, Tomb 7. Acc. 355 h, o, e.



Enkomi, Tomb 7. Acc. 355 i, l (top), k, m, n (below).

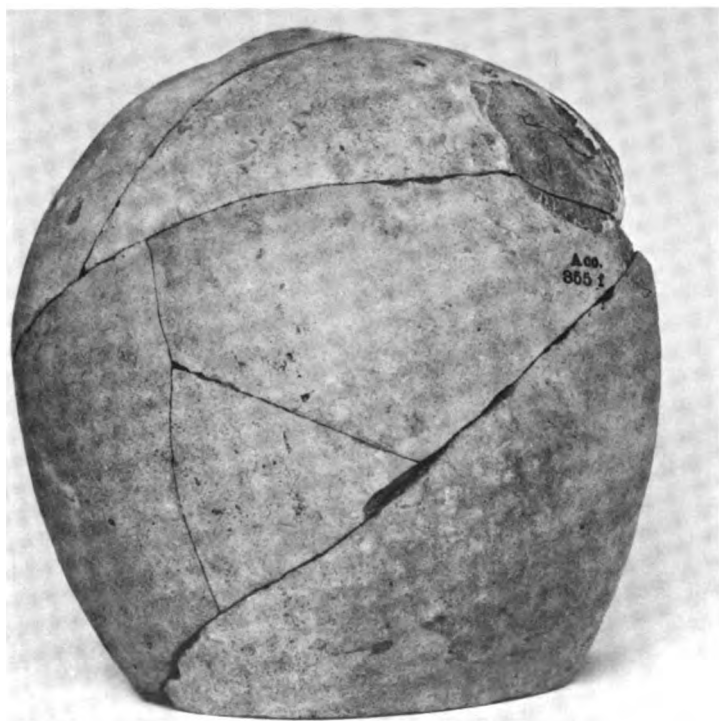
Plate 3



Enkomi, Tomb 7. Acc. 355 a.



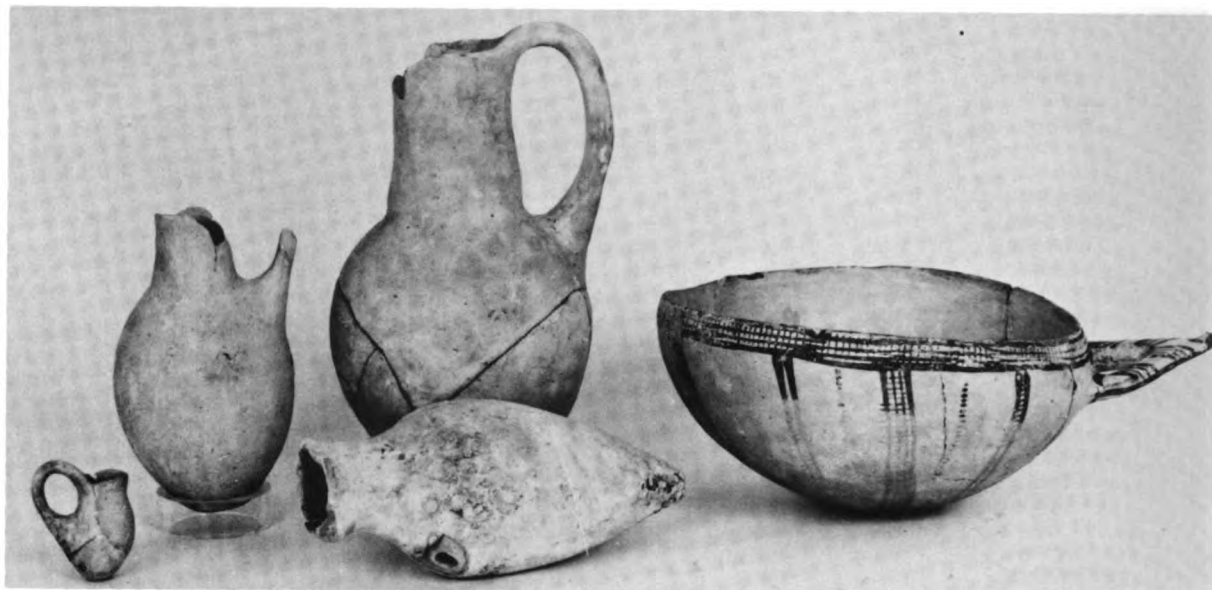
Enkomi, Tomb 7. Acc. 355 d.



Enkomi, Tomb 7. Acc. 355 f, g.



Plate 4

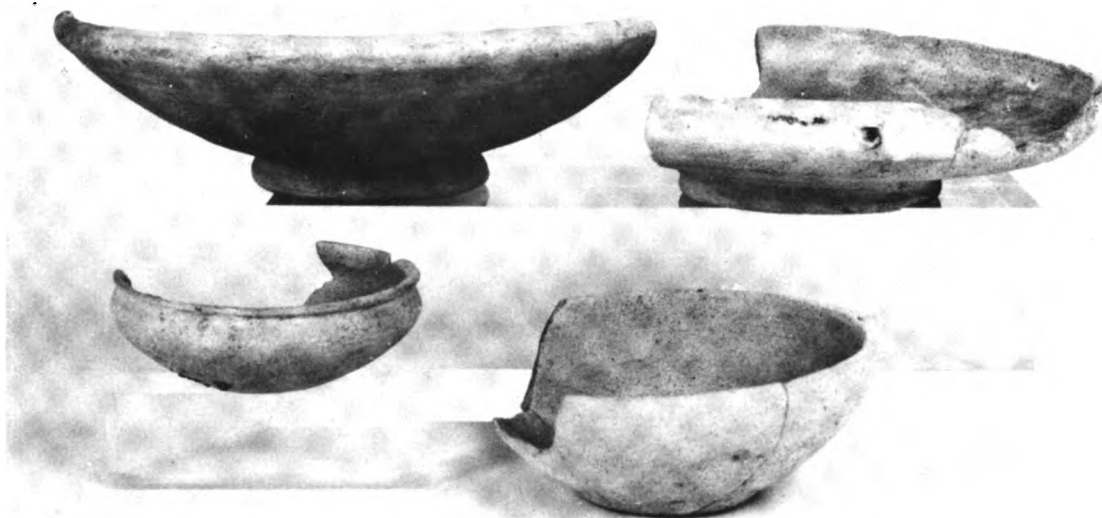


Enkomi, Tomb 7. Acc. 355 s, p, r, q, v.



Enkomi, Tomb 7. Acc. 682, 355 u, 355 t, 681.

Plate 5



Enkomi, Tomb 7. Acc. 713 e, c, d, b.



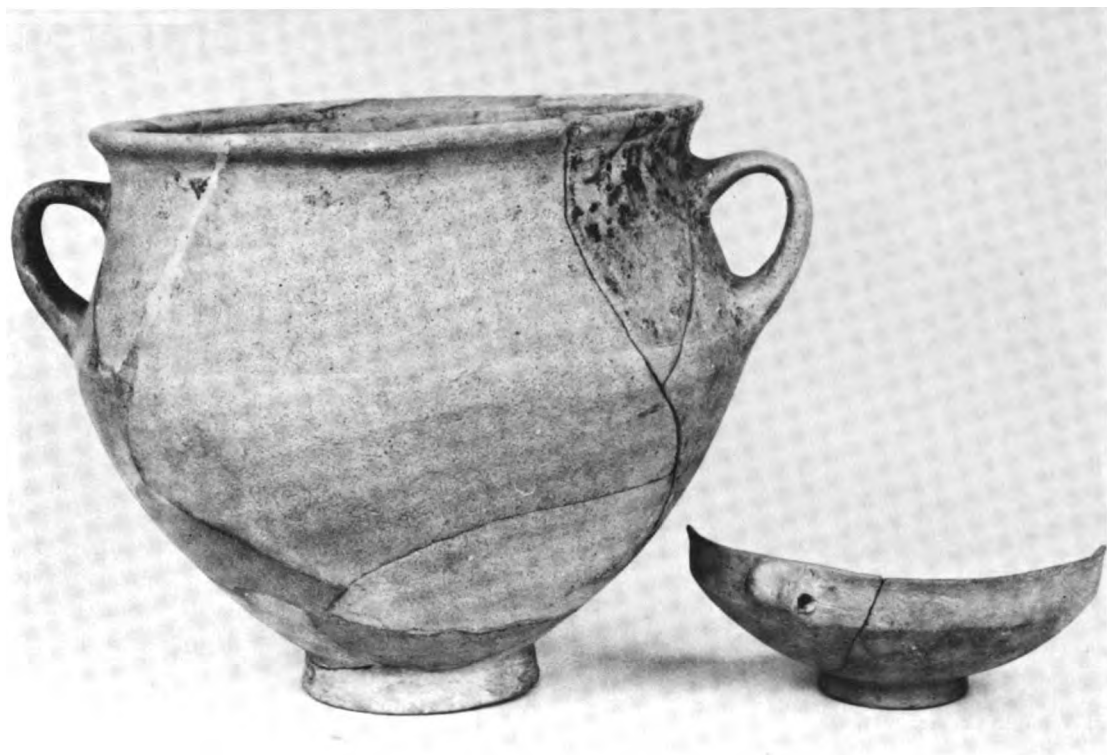
Enkomi, Tomb 7. Acc. 713 g, f, a.

Plate 6

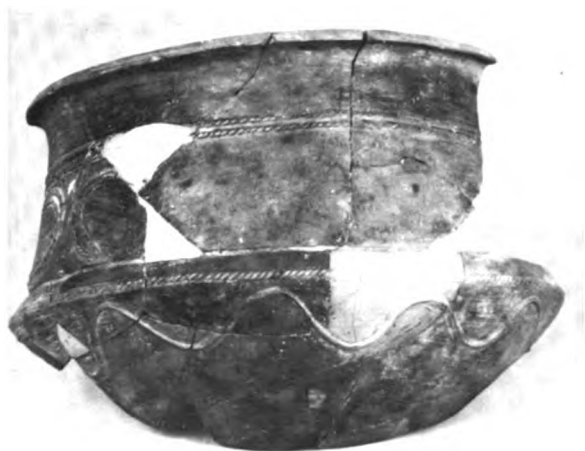


Enkomi, Tomb 11. Acc. 708.

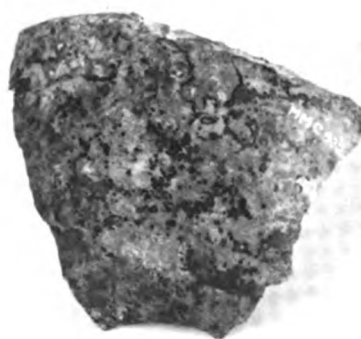
Plate 7



Enkomi, Tomb 11. Acc. 953, 959.



Enkomi, Tomb 11. Acc. 955.



Enkomi, Tomb 11. Acc. 932.

Plate 8



Enkomi, Tomb 18 s.c. Acc. 934, 933.



Enkomi, Tomb 18 s.c. Acc. 935.

The Limestone Sculpture from Kition

Pamela Gaber-Saletan

One of the regions of Cyprus whose sculpture is best represented in the collections of the Medelhavsmuseet in Stockholm, is Kition. This is, however, a smaller body of material than groups of limestone figures from other areas such as Vouni and Mersinaki.¹ It must be noted at the outset that the works in question were unearthed in the course of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition's excavations at the acropolis of ancient Kition in 1929 and 1930. (One of the pieces discussed here has remained in Cyprus, although unearthed along with those kept in Stockholm.) Accordingly, these figures come from a tightly delineated area of Kition, a *temenos* ascribed by the excavators to Herakles/Melkarth.² In addition, the sculptures are restricted in date, the earliest originating in the Second Proto-Cypriote period of sculpture (*ca.* 560–540 B.C.) and the latest having been carved during the Sub-Archaic phase (*ca.* 500–450 B.C.).³ By far the most numerous examples originate in the first half of the fifth century B.C., with many pieces being dated later in that period. For all of these reasons, the limestone figures from the Swedish excavations at Kition form a remarkably homogeneous group. This body of material tells us a great deal about the style of at least one sculptor or school of sculptors working in that city from the second half of the sixth through the first half of the fifth centuries B.C.

From the earliest exemplars, certain facial characteristics are common to almost all of these sculptures from Kition.⁴ The head of a figure whose fragments are numbered K139, 256, and 449 from late in the Neo-Cypriote period is a fine example of this "Kition type" (figs. 1 and 2).⁵ Since this is a bearded figure, it is impossible to examine the chin and jaw, which are characteristic of Kition heads and will be discussed in later examples. The smoothness of the

modeling in K139 which leads forward from the sides of the face around the cheeks is a typical trait of Kition sculptures. The cheekbones are of great interest. While they are placed quite high on this head, as they might be on works from the west or central regions of Cyprus, there are two aspects of the treatment of these cheeks which help to distinguish the Kition style from others. Unlike the central island style of carving which tends to display sharp, or even ledge-like cheekbones, the modeling of the face in K139 is smooth and continuous from eyes to beard as well as from sideburns to nose.⁶ In addition, the most prominent point in Kition cheeks falls extremely close to the nose, below the bridge, so that the transition beside the nostrils forms a decidedly convex 'well'. The pronounced shadows created in this depression emphasize the cheekbones from below, rather than from above, as is the case elsewhere.

The nose itself in this head is almost a signature of Kition sculptors. The straight, narrow, bony portion with its smooth transition from the brow might be seen on works from other sites, although the Kition version tends to be more slender, particularly at the bridge. It is really the flaring nostrils which betray this figure's town of origin. Not only do they flare outward and upward against the cheeks, but each nostril is carved individually to give the upper edge a sharply curved outline where it meets the descending cheek.

The forehead slopes gently back to a rather broad, square cranium, a feature which is evident in many heads from Kition. The eyebrows here are carved slightly in relief, though this is a rarity among the heads in the Stockholm collections. A great deal of attention has been paid to elaboration of detail in the somewhat stylized ear, although this is a feature of extreme variability. The hint of a 'smile' evident here is characteris-



Figure 1. K139 & 256 & 449. Ht. 56.0 cm.



Figure 2. K139 & 256 & 449.

tic of the period rather than the region, and will be seen to relax further in the two subsequent generations. The gently rounded lips, however, are found on most heads from Kition, whatever their expression or date.

In this connection it should be noted that while this figure is bearded and has long hair, the question of beard and costume affects neither the chronological sequence of carving styles nor the discernment of regional schools of sculpture, with few exceptions.⁷ That is, at any given site in any given period, the ethnic diversity of the Cypriote population manifests itself in the island's sanctuaries.⁸ There can be little doubt that the stone carvers who worked in the thriving cities of pre-Classical Cyprus were equally at home producing votives for customers whose religious beliefs followed Oriental patterns, as they were for those who named their gods in Greek. It is certainly true that conical caps were deposited next to vegetal wreaths in the great sanctuaries of the patron deities of cities like Idalion and Kition.⁹

Most of the votives in the collection in Stockholm are smaller than 1/2 life-size. This fact presents some difficulties and raises some questions. First, it is neces-

sary to ask whether this size was characteristic of the limestone figures in this temenos. It is difficult to avoid the tempting analogy with other sanctuaries on the island,¹⁰ and the suggestion that there were larger figures which were fewer in number, but that only the lighter statues were carried to their burial ground.¹¹ It is possible to state that there was at least one case of a statue of about life-size, although only its base and feet were found.¹² There might well have been others, since the pit in which the Stockholm figures were found was clearly a place of secondary deposit. The excavators felt that the temenos itself was destroyed at the time of the conquest by Ptolemy I.¹³ It may have been this event which occasioned the destruction of some figures and the burial of others. However, this date opens the question of why there seem to be no *ex votos* of Classical date.

The dating would be less troublesome if it could be found that this was a bothros deposit. Not only is it unusual to find large figures in bothroi, but other questions are answered by this hypothesis. An analogy may be drawn with the shrines to the deities associated with metalworking, which have been excavated during the past twenty years by the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus under the direction of Dr. Vassos Karageorghis. During their long history these shrines were repeatedly cleared of their accumulated offerings which were then reverently laid to rest in bothroi.¹⁴ It seems plausible that the sanctuary of the city's patron deity also had a long history. (Certainly Herakles-Melkarth continued to appear on Kition's coinage through the reign of Pumiathon in the fourth century B.C.) In such a case it would be necessary periodically to clear out the offerings to make way for new ones or for renovations to the shrine. In view of the proximity of the Acropolis to the harbor at Kition, it is conceivable that a renovation to the temple was necessary after the siege of Kimon in 450 B.C., or in celebration of the Peace of Kallias (449 B.C.). A bothros deposit sometime in the middle of the fifth century B.C. would explain the chronological homogeneity of these sculptures, as well as their relative uniformity of size.

Whatever the reasons, there are almost exclusively smaller figures from Kition in the Stockholm collection. The main difficulty encountered as a result of this phenomenon is the fact that a large percentage of these figures is of poorer quality than figures of over 1/2 life-size.¹⁵ This is by no means true of all smaller figures, however, and those of higher quality are useful in a continued examination of the Kition style.



Figure 3. K236. Ht. 56.0 cm.

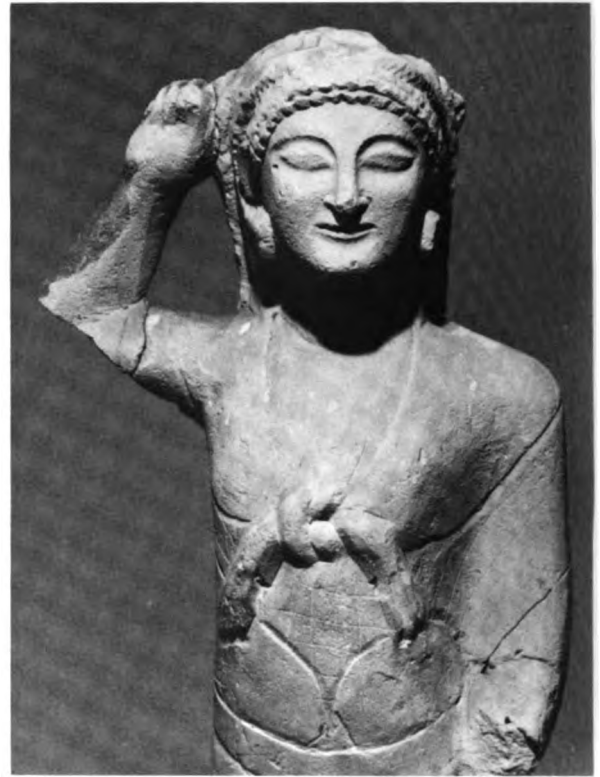


Figure 4. K236.

One of the most frequent types of votive in the Kition group is a Herakles figure with its right arm upraised. Most often these statues are presented frontally with the left leg advanced, wearing an Egyptianizing kilt.¹⁶ Occasionally, however, there appears a twist in the torso of one of these figures.¹⁷ Votive K236 is an example of the frontal, kilted Herakles. (figs. 3 and 4). It is most likely to date from the Cypro-Archaic period (ca. 520–480 B.C.). Being somewhat smaller than 1/2 life-size, it is not of the highest quality. Nonetheless, it exhibits several features which are typical of beardless heads from Kition. First, and most striking, are the chin and lower jaw. It is characteristic of chins at Kition to be broad and rounded at the lower edge. This example is, in fact, somewhat less rounded at its outer edge than most.¹⁸ Still, the breadth of the lower jaw is accentuated by the wide chin line in characteristic fashion. The second trait of beardless heads which this example displays follows directly from the first. The expected smooth transition from the ears across to the



Figure 5. K19 & 145 & 378 Ht. 65.8 cm.

nose is echoed here by an equal smoothness from the jaw line to the eyes. These facial transitions combine with the broad cranium visible beneath the stylized lionskin headdress to produce the effect of a squarish or oblong head with all its corners rounded.

There are many features of this head which have already been noted as typical of the Kition style of sculpture. The broad forehead slopes gently down to a straight, strong nose. The nostrils flare widely, and are sharply defined against the shadowy depression beside and below the rounded cheeks. It is a common device in smaller figures from all over Cyprus for the carver to leave the eyes as flat planes on which the pupils and lids would later be painted.¹⁹ No doubt the treatment of the flat ears was similar. The curls of hair across the brow are indicated by a series of cursory incisions. The lips are only slightly rounded, but they are characteristically thin. The hint of a 'smile' is again a chronological feature.

From the succeeding Sub-Archaic period (ca. 480–

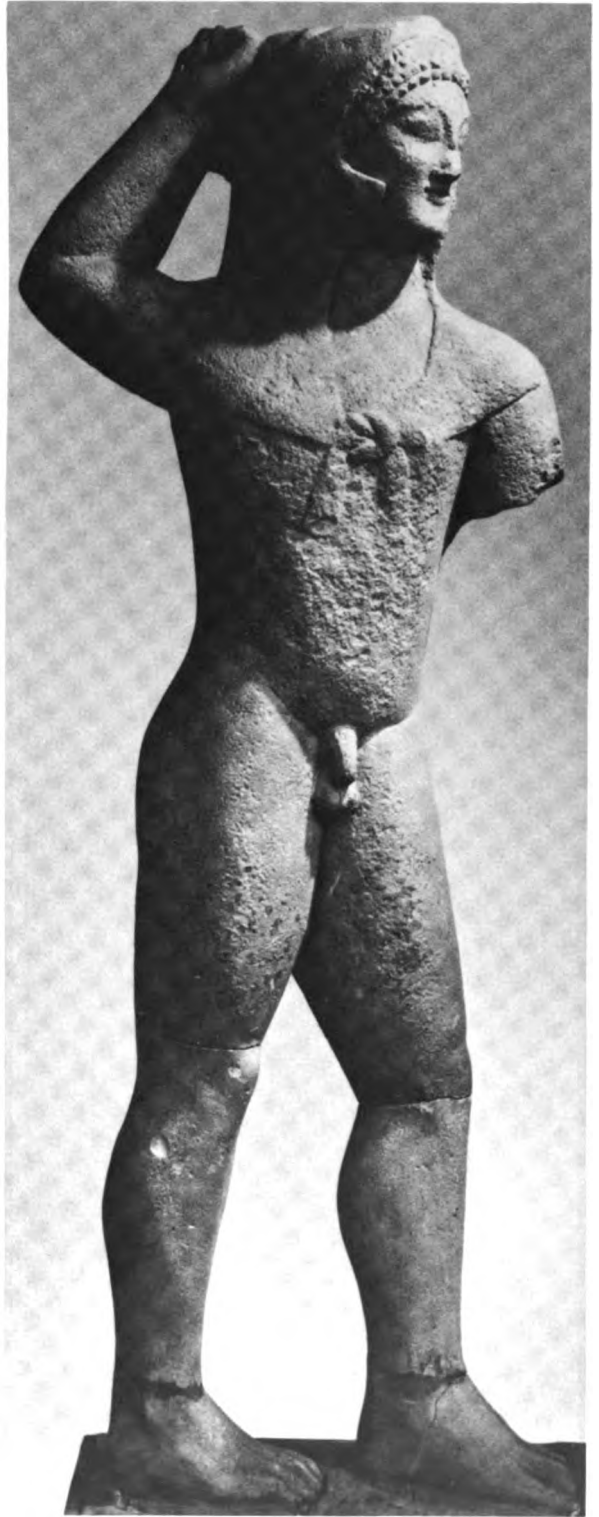


Figure 6. K19 & 145 & 378.



Figure 7. K417. Ht. 58.0 cm.



Figure 8. K417.

450 B.C.) comes K417 of a size similar to the Herakles figure just discussed (figs. 7 and 8). This myrtle-wreathed figure in schematized Greek dress carries a stylized animal offering; perhaps a lamb or kid, or a buck as the excavators suggest. The ears, hair, and eyes betray those shorthand tricks of carving smaller figures which were noted in the last example. The other features of the face are clearly recognizable as typical of Kition, including the now-familiar rounded cheeks accented from below, next to the flaring nostrils. The broadly rounded jaw behind the chin in this Sub-Archaic statuette is gratifyingly clear, and may be the feature which is most typical of late sixth and early fifth century B.C. figure carving at Kition. The thin-lipped mouth has lost all trace of a smile.

There are some useful implications to the isolation of the carving style of a city's sculptors. In the first place, it becomes possible to assign heads of previously unknown provenance to their probable places of origin. Such a head is shown in fig. 9.²⁰ The overall shape of the head is the characteristic oblong shape, somewhat broader at the crown than we have come to expect in works from Kition. A beardless head, its lower features resemble most closely those of K417 (fig. 8).



Figure 9. Unnumbered. Ht. 19.0 cm.

Particular striking in this regard is the very round jaw behind the chin. Though the nose is damaged, the flare of the nostrils, and the emphatic manner in which they are delineated against the cheeks can leave little doubt that this head was carved in Kition. The suggestion of a smile on the thin-lipped mouth, coupled with a rope-like rendering of the curls across the brow indicate that this head dates from early in the Second Proto-Cypriote style (*ca.* 560–540 B.C.).²¹

Another head of hitherto unknown provenance came to the British Museum along with the Sandwith collection.²² In addition to exhibiting features of jaw, nose and cheeks familiar from the previous discussions, this head wears a conical cap of striking form. It does not rise as a hemisphere crowned by a small knob above the hair as do such caps from other sites.²³ The cap on this figure bulges out above the ears and then tapers inward and upward to a tall point. In addition, the schematically rendered hair is presented in a pie crust series of rises and hollows along the brow and down beside the neck. As rare as these features are at other sites, they are extremely common at Kition. Two very closely related examples are K463 (whose eye paint still survived in 1937) and K492, a head of higher qual-

ity (figs. 10 and 11). There are numerous such examples. Clearly, then, the Sandwith head came from Kition. An expansion of such studies will eventually enable us to develop a picture of the distances people traveled in order to attend religious festivals. If, for example, votives at a given sanctuary are found to have originated at various cities on Cyprus, while those at another site were made only locally, a contrast between the shrines may be drawn. The first may be said to draw worshippers from all over the island (in such a case the specific towns where figures were carved would be of compelling interest). The second hypothetical sanctuary might be said to have been dedicated to a deity in strictly local favor. However, since these studies have only now begun, such comparative investigations must be left to the future.

There is another potential ramification for studies of regional styles of Cypriote sculpture. Another figure clearly belonging to the group of small votives in conical caps from Kition (figs. 10 and 11) was found at Marathus in Syria. Although it has been identified as

Figure 10. K463. Ht. 9 cm.





Figure 11. K492. Ht. 14.3 cm., Head ht. 6.7 cm.

“Graeco-Arab”, it is clearly Cypriote. It was found at Amrit in the vicinity of the temple, Maabed.²⁴ There can be no surprise at finding Cypriote sculpture in the Levant. In 1948 E. Gjerstad devoted an entire chapter to foreign relations, several subheadings of which were devoted to sculpture.²⁵ In Palestine and Syria he treated numerous sites, including Marathus (Amrit). The important difference in the case of this head is our new ability to state with some certainty not only that the work comes from Cyprus, but that it comes from Kition. In view of Kition’s essentially Phoenician nature during the period in question, this information acts rather to confirm prior knowledge than to enlighten.²⁶ However, to be able to single out a particular city-state as the point of origin for limestone figures will add a dimension to our understanding of Cypriote interrelations in the ancient world.

Thus it becomes apparent that while the collection of pre-Classical limestone figures excavated at Kition by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition is small, it is very valuable. In part because of its homogeneity, a clear chronology can be discerned. The features of its carvers’ style can be isolated and recognized through succeeding periods. When this information is placed in conjunction with excavated sculptures from other sites, both on and off the island of Cyprus, important historical questions will be asked. It is certain that some new answers will be proposed on the basis of these data.

¹ Sculptures from the Vouni/Mersinaki region will be examined by the author in this journal at a later date.

² E. Gjerstad, *et. al. The Swedish Cyprus Expedition* (henceforth SCE) III, 1937, p. 4, Plan II, pp. 74, 75.

³ For a discussion of the chronology of Archaic sculpture on Cyprus see "Regional Styles in Cypriote Limestone Sculpture" by this author in L. Stager *et. al. Idalion II* (in press).

⁴ For a clear statement of the relative importance of head to body in Cypriote sculpture, see C. Vermeule, "Cypriote Sculpture", *American Journal of Archaeology* 78, no. 3, p. 288. Cf. SCE III pp. 54, 55; SCE IV pt. 2 pp. 96–124, 207–11.

⁵ SCE III Pl. XV 1,2. This piece is in Nicosia.

⁶ See eg. F. N. Pryce, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the British Museum*, Vol. I pt. II, 1931, fig 94 # C152 from Pyla. Also this author's dissertation, *Regional Styles in Cypriote Sculpture*, (Harvard University, 1980, in preparation for publication) has a treatment of the styles of many regions of Cyprus.

⁷ In the broad overview it is possible to see that there are more conical caps on votive figures from Kition whose close ties were with the Levant, than at western sites like Vouni where Greek ties—and coiffures—predominate.

⁸ Cf. C. Vermeule, *op. cit.* p. 287.

⁹ See eg. SCE III figs. 23–29; R. H. Lang, "Narrative of excavations in a Temple at Dali (Idalion) in Cyprus", *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature* series 2 vol. xi, 1878, Pls. I–IV; M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros the Bible and Homer*, 1893, Pl. LVI (primarily female votaries).

¹⁰ See eg. L. P. de Cesnola, *Cyprus*, 1878 p. 146 (Golgoi); M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *loc. cit.* (Idalion). Several large figures were found among a preponderance of small figures at these sites.

¹¹ Fragments of larger statues may have been used as ballast, or whole figures may have been transported as booty—or votives—from one place to another. British Museum head C74 (Pryce, *op. cit.* p. 37) was found at Byblos and is almost certainly from Kition. (See also A. W. Lawrence, "The Primitive Sculpture of Cyprus", *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. XLVI pt. 2, 1926 p. 165 n. 15).

¹² SCE III p. 4 fig 4, Plan II, p. 51 # 560. The excavators suggest that this was the cult statue.

¹³ *Ibid.* p. 75.

¹⁴ See V. Karageorghis, *Kition*. 1974, pp. 97, 101, 110, 113, 140–141. It is of some interest that limestone votives hardly appear at all in these temene. Clearly the deities who were worshipped here were honored by other types of offerings (cf. *Kition*, pp. 111, 113). SCE III, Section II indicates a pair of deep, discontinuous pits (labeled Layer 8) cut into Layers 9, 10, and 11 in grid squares J5 and J6. These seem to be the pits (in the photo fig. 19, p. 22) where the limestone figures were found. If these could be reinterpreted as predating the large,

Hellenistic destruction pit, they might be understood as earlier bothroi. Unfortunately, the pottery from these levels in these squares is not separately reported (SCE III pp. 69, 70). Without this information any suggested change in interpretation can only be speculative. There is, however, a basic flaw in the excavators' argument (SCE III p. 64) that since K576, a limestone head, was found in a stratum of Period 8, while K52, the torso to which it belongs, was found in the deposit pit, this "proves that the sculptures buried in the pit were deposited in the temenos of Period 8". It is always possible, and even common, to find earlier artifacts deposited in later layers. The find spots of K576 and K52, therefore, prove nothing.

¹⁵ For a discussion of the relationship between size and quality in Cypriote sculpture see Gaber-Saletan, *op. cit.*, *Idalion II*.

¹⁶ See SCE III pls. XXIII, XXXIV.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* Pl. CVI, no. 141 etc; Pls. XXII, XXIII. Nos. K19 & 145 & 378 is unusual in several ways. Except for its stylized lion's skin it is entirely nude. Also, the torso is presented at right angles to the frontal head and feet. (The upraised right arm is twisted even further from the frontal.) (Figs. 5 & 6).

¹⁸ K19 etc. (referred to above, n. 17) shows an excellent example of a round Kition chin. (Fig. 6).

¹⁹ See eg. Pryce, *op. cit.* p. 54, figs. 79,80.

²⁰ SCE III Pl. CCVIII.

²¹ Pryce, *op. cit.* p. 38, fig. 48, # C78.

²² *Ibid.* p. 48, fig. 66, #C102 Ht. 9 cm. In 1930, paint remained "on lips, eyes and hair". The Sandwith figures are reported to come from somewhere "halfway between Larnaca and Dali". (Pryce, p. 2)

²³ *Ibid.* pp. 34–5, figs. 41–43. C62 and C63 also from the Sandwith group; C66 and C67 from Idalion, and C68 from Tamasos.

²⁴ H. Klengel, *Syria Antiqua*, 1971, pp. 53, 60–61. SCE IV pt. 2, 313 n. 1, p. 325–6. See also *Acad. Inscr. et. Belles-Lettres, Comptes Rendus*, 1926 pp. 57 f., M. Dunand, "Les sculptures de la favissa du temple d'Amrit", *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* vol. VII, 1944–45, pp. 99–107, and M. Dunand and N. Saliby, "Le sanctuaire d'Amrit", *Annales Archéologiques de Syrie* vol. 11–12, 1961–2, pp. 3–12. The head in question is not illustrated in these publications, with the exception of Klengel's. However, E. Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, 1873, pp. 850 f. records a separate find of sculpture in the same vicinity for which illustrations were not available to this author. It may be that the head displayed in *Syria Antiqua* was from this earlier discovery.

²⁵ SCE IV pt. 2, pp. 318–365.

²⁶ SCE IV pt. 2, pp. 1 ff; V. Karageorghis, *Kition*, chs. V, VII.

A Late Geometric Amphora by the Stockholm Painter

Berit Wells

*πολλοὶ μὲν βόες ἄργοι ὀρέχθουν ἄμφι σιδήρῳ
σφαζόμενοι, πολλοὶ δ' οἶες καὶ μηκάδες αἰγες·
(Iliad 23, 30–31)*

Oxen, sheep and goats remain the prime sacrificial animals throughout Greek antiquity just as they were when Achilles held funeral games beside his friend Patroklos' bier outside Troy (Iliad 23,30–31). Likewise we may infer from the many representations of bulls in Mycenaean tombs that these animals played an important role in burial rites during the Late Bronze Age. The question then arises: did the practice of sacrificing oxen continue during the succeeding periods as is the consensus that many facets of the Mycenaean culture did? The answer is positive for the Geometric period but so far there is no evidence for the intervening centuries.

It is fairly well established that the songs of the Iliad were written down in the decades close to 700 B.C. From the latter part of the 8th century there is also ample evidence of renewed contact with the heroic past.¹ Hero-cults spring up in or close to Mycenaean tombs,² and a study of the beginning of the Geometric pictorial style demonstrates to which extent the Geometric potter was dependant upon native tradition.³

As meat seems to have been scarce in the Dark Ages,⁴ there is all the more reason for assuming that animals, and particularly the most valuable species, cattle, were slaughtered only at special occasions such as funerals most likely were. On several sites cattle bones—together with bones of mainly horses and sheep—were found in the grave fill,⁵ finds which allow us to postulate that these animals were sacrificed during the funerary rites. If we accept this as a possible, but not necessarily universal custom, we should not be surprised when, at the end of the 8th century, bulls suddenly appear on Attic Late Geometric vases. The instances are few but indisputable.⁶

The amphora MM 1976:11

On the Late Geometric amphora MM 1976:11 in the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm there is a frieze of despondent looking bulls on the lower half of the body. The amphora, acquired through a private fund for The Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities (Vitterhetsakademien) is now deposited at the museum. The vase was earlier in the possession of the Louisiana Museum of Modern Art at Humlebaek, south of Elsinore, Denmark, which museum bought it in 1948 on the London antique market. Knud W. Jensen, Director of the Louisiana Museum seems to recall that the dealer had acquired the amphora from a private British collection.⁷

MM 1976:11 is a neck-handled amphora, 0.73 m high and with a diameter of the rim of c. 0.25 m (figs. 1–2). It has been restored from many fragments, several still missing, though, especially on side two of the vase. The fabric is pale brown, micaceous and has calcium inclusions and a few brown grit. Evidently the firing process was not well controlled, the paint turning from brownish red to dark brown and brownish black. Also the paint is sometimes streaky and has worn off extensively on side two. The fairly short neck is concave and slightly flaring at the mouth, and the ovoid body has a fullness at the greatest diameter. The ring foot is low and almost straight. Plastic snakes dotted with white and with imprecisely modelled heads curl on rim, handles, and shoulder. Further white, in possibly two parallel strokes, seems to have been added on the head of the snake at the mouth of the vase. To the left of one handle a double-axe, outlined in white, is clearly visible.



Fig. 1 Amphora MM 1976:11, side one.



Fig. 2 Amphora MM 1976:11 side two.

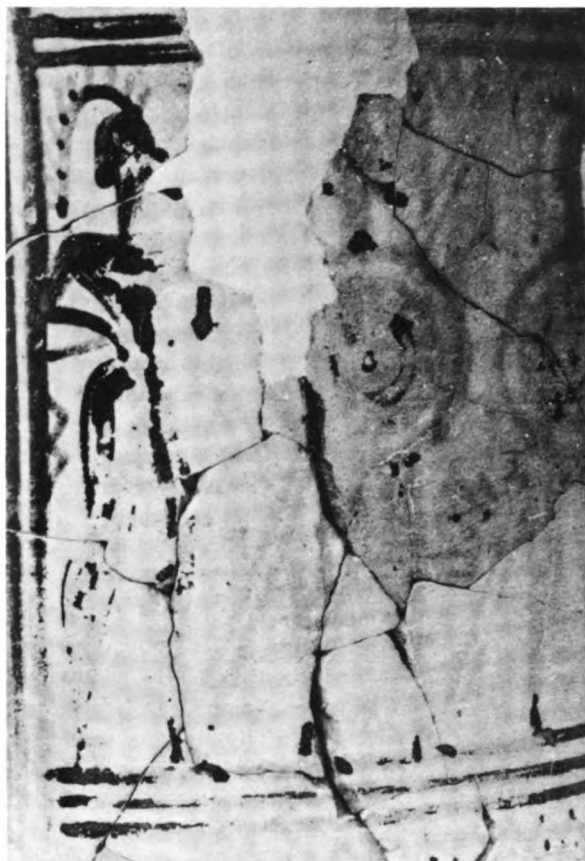


Fig. 3 Detail of warrior panel on neck, side two.

Warriors wearing crested and plumed helmets march in panels on the neck, four on side one and three on side two. They carry round framed shields covering the trunks of their bodies and two spears each, spears whose projections are not aligned with each other. On side two there is a fourth figure in plumed helmet, but he carries neither shield nor spears—only a sword at his waist (fig. 3). On the widest part of the belly, fully equipped warriors—with shields reaching half-way down their thighs—alternate with one-wheel chariots drawn by a single horse and driven by an unarmed man. In a zone on the lower part of the body bulls march around the vase.

Zones with Geometric design frame the figured friezes. Above the warriors on the neck is a simple meander and below them a three-tiered dotted lozenge. The snake on the shoulder curls between opposing interlocking framed cross-hatched triangles. Then follow zones with lozenge-chains and checkerboard on

the body and, close to the foot, a zone of vertical strokes. The filling ornaments are, on the whole, very uniform and fairly evenly distributed in the figured friezes: vertical and horizontal zigzags, stacked M's and double M's, horizontal reserved hour-glasses or double-axes, crosses and hanging double and multiple triangles. An occasional long-legged and long-necked bird, probably a heron, occurs, but in most cases it is reduced to a Z- or Σ -like motif; it appears behind every horse and regularly between the bulls' legs—except once when it is replaced by an M. Below each horse is a cross-hatched lozenge.

Attribution and dating of MM 1976:11

The Stockholm amphora belongs within the Workshop of Athens 894 as defined by Coldstream, and it is equally clear that it is by the same painter as his nos. 1–3.⁸ The disposition of the decoration over the body of the vase and the rendering of the figures in the chariot scene confirms the attribution. Unfortunately the companionpiece of our amphora, Athens 17935, has, to my knowledge, so far only been partly illustrated by Coldstream, but a closer look at some of the details on the two vases removes any doubt as to the attribution.

The charioteer on MM 1976:11 is truly chubbier than his colleague on Athens 17935 whose body—like the body of the warrior walking behind the chariot—is more angular and attenuated. However, they have the same type of head without a nose but with boldly jutting chin. On both vases the charioteer's hand holding the whip curves upwards and his buttocks protrude diagonally to form a sharp angle with his slightly curving thighs. The chariots are of the same make, although the Stockholm ones are of a sturdier type.

The horses display even greater affinities. They could in fact be identical twins. Ours maybe a bit plumper but the curve of the neck and chest is the same as is the angle where the neck and head meet. Also, the back of the neck, back and rump form one continuous curve. Note further the full chests and the markedly backward jutting hocks. All these traits are also in line with the Classical Tradition of the Dipylon Style, a tradition of which our painter is a true representative.⁹

Further details link MM 1976:11 to Athens 17935. The hairs of the horses' manes look like bristles; the jaws are protruding; hooves and fetlocks are consciously rendered albeit sometimes rather slovenly; and each horse is controlled with the help of three

reins. A peculiarity with our painter is his rendering of the horses' tails: they display the stiff but elegant curve of the tail of a trotting horse. The Dipylon Master has also painted tails in this manner as seen on the Louvre krater, Paris A517, on the left side of the prothesis scene,¹⁰ and so has the Birdseed Painter, whose affinities with the Transitional workshops—among which Davison counts the Philadelphia Painter and the Workshop of Athens 894—are close. It is also worth noting that the Birdseed Painter is contemporary with the late Dipylon Workshop.¹¹

The filling motifs on MM 1976:11 and Athens 17935 are the same and what is more striking is that they are mainly placed in the same position on both amphorae. Zigzags occur over the horses and stacked double M's and hour-glasses separate the horses from the warriors and the warriors from the chariots. Underneath the horses' bellies are cross-hatched lozenges. A cross is found to the right of each charioteer and a cursive bird between his chariot and his horse's tail. On the Athens amphora these reduced birds are placed between both the horses' and the warriors' legs and they recur on the Stockholm amphora between the bulls' legs in the lower frieze. The possible significance of these birds will be treated below.

On the neck of MM 1976:11 the soldiers are tall with large jutting noses compared to the stockier figures with tiny pointed noses in the chariot scene. As remarked earlier, these latter warriors carry shields covering a greater part of their bodies than their companions on the neck. This is regarded as an earlier trait than the proportionally smaller shields revealing a larger part of the thigh. Coldstream points out that this development within the Workshop of Athens 894 has its counterpart with the Philadelphia Painter, who according to Coldstream, undoubtedly influenced the workshop in question.¹⁴ Already Cook felt that there was a relationship between the two but preferred not to press the point.¹⁵ Davison also carefully avoids a definite statement but says that the Philadelphia Painter "may prove to be a member of the Workshop of Athens 894".¹⁶ The three-tiered dotted lozenge frieze on MM 1976:11 never seems to occur on the vases attributed to this workshop but evidently appealed to the Philadelphia Painter and is seen on the amphora Berlin 3203,¹⁷ and in a two-tiered version on another amphora in a private collection by the same painter.¹⁸ Further, the warriors and charioteers on MM 1976:11 and Athens 17935 show closer similarity to the men on Berlin 3203 than to men on works usually attributed to the

Workshop of Athens 894. Thus the links between this workshop and the Philadelphia Painter now seem even closer than previously assumed and Davison's hunch now seems more than just a hunch. The evidence is strong for including the latter as a member of the workshop. In a way the question is perhaps academic for whichever the attributions of these vases their dates fall within an extremely short period of time, around 700 B.C. according to Cook¹⁹ and to Davison, who places both the Philadelphia Painter and the Workshop of Athens 894 in her Early Orientalizing Group,²⁰ transitional to Protoattic.²¹ Coldstream considers them as contemporary, appearing around 720 at the start of the LG IIB phase.²²

A few words should be added about shape. Amphorae of the Workshop of Athens 894 are usually slim and the early ones are well accentuated. They have tall necks growing taller at the end of the series.²³ This process eventually leads to a softening of the contours resulting in the Protoattic type of amphora.²⁴ The amphora MM 1976:11 has a proportionately short neck and a fullness of the body generally contrasting with the works of the workshop.²⁵ However, the amphora Hannover 1953, 148²⁶ by the same painter as the Stockholm vase has a similar body contour with a well accentuated transition between body and neck. The comparatively short neck of MM 1976:11 recurs, however, on Phil MS 5464, the name piece of the Philadelphia Painter,²⁷ a trait further linking him with our painter.

Although Davison warns against attaching too much importance to shape,²⁸ I venture a dating of Stockholm MM 1976:11—because of its shape—to the very beginning of the Workshop of Athens 894. It should be contemporary with Athens 17935, Karlsruhe B 2675 and Karlsruhe B 2678a,²⁹ even if the shapes of these are at present not known, but our amphora should be earlier than Hannover 1953, 148,³⁰ as the horses on this latter vase look spindlier and more formulaic. Also the lozenge-star underneath at least one of the horses has hooked arms, an oddity which seems more in line with Protoattic design. For convenience's sake it now seems practical to name our painter the Stockholm Painter after MM 1976:11 as this vase, from what has been said above, is one of his earliest works so far known. His closeness to the Philadelphia Painter has been attested above but rather than placing one earlier than the other I also see them as contemporaries. The Stockholm Painter, however, displays a more sober style.



Fig. 4 Detail of chariot scene on belly, side one.

Interpretation of the figured scenes

Snakes are often associated with the dead.³¹ Thus when plastic snakes appear on Late Geometric vases we can be certain that these vessels were part of the grave ritual.³² Similarly, the scenes depicted on the vases can be associated with the funeral, symbolizing various aspects. How then can the three figured friezes on MM 1976:11 be interpreted? We shall start with the main one around the widest part of the body.

Horses and chariots had long been intimately connected with funerary tradition in the Aegean and the Near East, ample evidence being found not the least in Mycenaean representational art.³³ Also the *Iliad* provides testimony of chariot races in connection with Patroklos' funeral (*Iliad* 23, 362 ff.). Thus when the Stockholm Painter depicted a chariot scene on MM 1976:11 he used a traditional motif of familiar funerary

symbolism. The nature of the scene is further underlined by his inclusion of birds,³⁴ fairly naturalistic ones to the left of the chariots in the middle of the frieze on side one (fig. 4) and cursive ones scattered between the figures. Note also how these enigmatic birds, inspired from Corinth,³⁵ appear in the secondary figured friezes on the neck and on the lower part of the body. The chariot scene with inserted warriors between each chariot can either be interpreted as a chariot procession with warriors participating or as a race where the warriors may only be a decorative element.³⁶ On the Stockholm vase a procession is the likelier alternative as nothing in the scene—such as winner's prizes—suggests a race. We do not know if such processions or races were actually held in Geometric times, but they certainly retained their symbolic value quite in line with the aristocratic practices of an earlier, not forgotten age.³⁷



Fig. 5 Detail of bull frieze, side one.

The warriors marching on the neck of the vase can probably be thought of as participating in the same procession as is depicted in the chariot frieze. The shieldless warrior on side two (fig. 3) stands out as being equipped with a sword recalling a similar though unhelmeted figure in the chariot scene on Athens 17935,³⁸ the companionpiece of MM 1976:11. However, according to Ahlberg, warriors parading become more and more merely a decorative motif as Late Geometric progresses.³⁹

The most uncommon, and therefore perhaps most exciting, scene on the Stockholm amphora is the frieze of bulls (fig. 5). We have already seen that representations of bulls are common in Mycenaean but rare in Geometric art.⁴⁰ Their funerary significance, as was the case with the chariot scene, is attested by the appearance of birds between the legs of the bulls. Although the occurrence of these bulls is probably inspired by native funerary tradition, the crescent shaped horns

reveal their oriental prototype.⁴¹ For the Eastern influence cannot be denied; rather, it complicates the picture, as Benson sees it, appearing as it does when the Geometric artist is trying to come to terms with his native pictorial tradition in Mycenaean vase-painting.⁴²

The bulls on MM 1976:11 are descendants of the bull inside a skyphos from Thera by the Birdseed Painter,⁴³ and forefathers of the ones depicted inside a similar but Protoattic skyphos from Anavyssos.⁴⁴ That the bulls on the Stockholm amphora were intended for funerary sacrifice is—as pointed out above—clear from the birds associated with them. Even more frequent as filling motif in the frieze is the hour-glass or double-axe, as Ahlberg prefers to call it. She finds no reason to attach special significance to this motif because of its infrequent occurrence in the prothesis scenes.⁴⁵ It is just possible, though, that this double-axe could be identified with the sacrificial axe. If this were the case, the axe further stresses the funerary character of our

bull frieze, for cattle were sacrificed at funerals in Geometric times as evidenced by bones found in grave fills.⁴⁶

Conclusion

The amphora MM 1976:11 has been shown to be an early work by the artist we have called the Stockholm Painter, a member of the Workshop of Athens 894 as was probably also the Philadelphia Painter. The funerary character of the vase is immediately apparent from the snakes curling on mouth, handles and shoulder, for

these animals are often associated with the dead. Also the birds, more often than not reduced to an almost unrecognizable state, bear witness to the function of the figured scene. Horses, chariots, warriors, and bulls were seen to be intimately linked with funeral rites, which had been inherited from the Mycenaeans, who had in turn depicted them on pottery and described them in the songs of the Iliad. The Greek Geometric artist in the last half of the 8th century exploited his heritage as evidenced by the Geometric pictorial style. The Stockholm amphora, painted c. 720 B.C. at the start of the final Geometric phase (LG IIB), should be seen in this context.

¹ Karl Schefold, *Griechische Kunst als religiöses Phänomen*, Hamburg 1959, p. 30.

² For the origin of the hero-cult see Martin P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, 3rd ed., München 1967, pp. 378–84; for archaeological evidence from the latter part of the 8th century see J. Nicholas Coldstream, *Geometric Greece*, London 1977, pp. 346–48.

³ J. L. Benson, *Horse, Bird & Man. The Origins of Greek Painting*. Amherst 1970, passim.

⁴ Thalia Phillis Howe, 'Linear B and Hesiod's Breadwinners', *AJA* 63, 1959, p. 189.

⁵ Rodney S. Young, *Late Geometric Graves and a Seventh Century Well in the Agora* (= *Hesperia*, Suppl. 2), Athens 1939, p. 19.

⁶ See Eva Brann, 'Late Geometric Well Groups from the Athenian Agora', *Hesperia* 30, 1961, p. 127 for representations of cattle on pottery. A further example on the neck of an oinochoe, Eleusis Museum 724, is depicted in Bernhard Schmaltz, *Metallfiguren aus dem Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben* (= *Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben* VI), Berlin 1980, Tafel 23.

⁷ Mr. Jensen kindly gave me this information in a private letter. He briefly mentioned the amphora in 'Om Louisianas graeske samling', Louisiana 1958, Årbog (Annual Report of the museum) ed. by Knud W. Jensen and Ole Wivel.

⁸ J. Nicholas Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, London 1968 (henceforth Coldstream, *GGP*), pp. 58 and 61 and pl. 11c. The earliest main attributions to this workshop were made by J. M. Cook in 'Athenian Workshops around 700', *BSA* 42, 1947 (henceforth Cook, *BSA* 42), pp. 146–49; Jean B. Davison, *Attic Geometric Workshops* (Yale Classical Studies, no. 16), New Haven 1961, pp. 144–46; and Eva Brann, *Late Geometric and Protoattic Pottery* (= *Agora* VIII), Princeton 1962, p. 9. Coldstream, *GGP*, pp. 58–60 gives a full list of references and attributions.

⁹ Coldstream, *GGP*, pp. 56 and 61; cf. *ibid.* pl. 7a the Louvre krater Paris A517 by the Dipylon Master; further Davison, *op.cit.* fig. 98 and pp. 138–39 (for bibliography), the spouted krater London 1899.2–19.1 from Thebes attributed to the Sub-Dipylon Group; and the Philadelphia amphora MS 5466, Davison, *op.cit.* fig. 49 and p. 147 (for bibliography). Already Cook, *BSA* 42, p. 149 noted the relationship between the horses of the Philadelphia Painter and the ones on the Thebes krater.

¹⁰ Supra n. 9.

¹¹ Davison, *op.cit.* pp. 120 and 122.

¹² *CVA Karlsruhe* 1 (= Deutschland 7), p. 12, fig. 2. See also Coldstream, *GGP*, p. 58.

¹³ *CVA Karlsruhe* 1, p. 12, fig. 4.

¹⁴ Coldstream, *GGP*, pp. 58 and 61.

- ¹⁵ Cook, *BSA* 42, p. 149.
- ¹⁶ Davison, *op.cit.* p. 48.
- ¹⁷ Davison, *op.cit.* fig. 48a.
- ¹⁸ Renate Tölle, *Frühgriechische Reigentänze*, Waldsassen/Bayern 1964, pl. 8; cf. also Coldstream, *GGP*, p. 57.
- ¹⁹ Cook, *BSA* 42, pp. 146–49.
- ²⁰ Davison, *op.cit.* pp. 41 and 48.
- ²¹ Davison, *op.cit.* pp. 95 and 122.
- ²² Coldstream, *GGP*, p. 331.
- ²³ Coldstream, *GGP*, p. 60.
- ²⁴ J. M. Cook, 'Protoattic Pottery', *BSA* 35, 1934–35, p. 169.
- ²⁵ Cf. Davison, *op.cit.* figs. 33–39.
- ²⁶ Alfred Hentzen, 'Erwerbungen des Kestner-Museums, Hannover 1952–1955', *Hannoversche Geschichtsblätter*, Bd. 9:6, 1955, Abb. 12.
- ²⁷ Cf. Davison, *op.cit.* fig. 49.
- ²⁸ Davison, *op.cit.* pp. 102–103.
- ²⁹ *CVA* Karlsruhe 1, p. 12, figs. 2 and 4, the latter piece undoubtedly also by the same painter though not attributed by Coldstream.
- ³⁰ *Supra* n. 26.
- ³¹ Martin P. Nilsson, *op.cit.* p. 198.
- ³² Coldstream, *GGP*, p. 60.
- ³³ Benson, *op.cit.* pp. 20–25.
- ³⁴ Benson has shown that, already under Mycenaean times, birds were images connected with funerals and that this imagery was later taken over by the Geometric artist; Benson, *op.cit.* pp. 28–29.
- ³⁵ Cook, *BSA* 42, p. 152.
- ³⁶ Gudrun Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora* (= *SIMA* 32), vol. I–II, Göteborg 1971, pp. 196–98.
- ³⁷ Benson, *op.cit.* pp. 24–25.
- ³⁸ Coldstream, *GGP*, pl. 11c.
- ³⁹ Ahlberg, *op.cit.* pp. 202–204.
- ⁴⁰ See *supra* n. 6.
- ⁴¹ Emil Kunze, *Kretische Bronzereliefs*, Stuttgart 1931, pp. 158–59.
- ⁴² Benson, *op.cit.* p. 87.
- ⁴³ Ernst Pfuhl, 'Der archaische Friedhof am Stadtberge von Thera', *AthMitt* 28, 1903, pl. 3; Coldstream, *GGP*, p. 69.
- ⁴⁴ Kunze, *op.cit.* p. 158 and pl. 53e.
- ⁴⁵ Ahlberg, *op.cit.* pp. 157 and 235–36.
- ⁴⁶ *Supra* n. 5.

An Etruscan Antefix

Eva Rystedt

Although the exhibition of Graeco-Roman antiquities belonging to the Medelhavsmuseet is currently housed in the Museum of National Antiquities, no visitor could possibly mistake the female head published here¹ of having anything to do with the Nordic sphere. Its colouring definitely points southwards, to regions where women had dark hair and dark eyes. Who these women were is a question which may be answered in different ways: Etruscan, if one looks at where the head was made; Greek, if one wants to stress the conformity of the head to an archaic pattern which is more Greek than Etruscan; or simply Mediterranean, recognizing the artistic convention that intervenes between a head such as this and any models for it.

The idea of an individual portrait is, in fact, totally absent. The head is an antefix, i.e. an architectonic member adorning one end of a cover-tile on the eaves of a tile roof. In this position, it was accompanied at regular intervals by numerous identical pieces, all gazing slightly downwards from a height of a few metres. The thickset row of colourful faces must have made a striking impression, which was perhaps further enhanced by other painted, architectural decoration on the same building.

The piece preserves the entire antefix, with the exception of a portion of the hair and the neck to the figure's left, and a chip low down on the hair on the opposite side. The cover-tile part has fared less well and is to be seen for a short stretch only behind the head. The height of the antefix from the top of the head to the horizontal lower ending is 17.3 cm; its width at the level of the ears is 15.3 cm; and the "depth", including the preserved length of the cover-tile, is 16.6 cm (Figs. 1-4).²

The whole is made of a fairly coarse clay, which fired reddish-brown all through. Like most Etruscan

architectural decoration in terracotta intended for production in several identical copies, the antefix was made from a mould, i.e. a negative form; this, in its turn, was obtained from a positive original or archetype. When the head had been taken out of the mould, the back part was attached to one end of the semi-cylindrical cover-tile, which was shaped separately. Next came the final treatment of the visible surfaces of the whole and the firing. The surface treatment comprised the application over the entire antefix and the upper side of the cover-tile of a slip, probably made up of diluted clay; on top of that, a cream coating; and, last, the cover paint, using red, black, light brown and cream. The coating and the paint are quite well preserved, and so we are in a position to appraise a coloration that is some 2500 years old but is still in something like mint condition.

In the frontal view of the piece, only the antefix appears, the tile being hidden from sight behind it (Fig. 2). The face forms a fairly straight-sided oblong with a gradual and not very pronounced taper from the temple area downwards. At the lower end, the line of the cheeks passes over smoothly into the curve of the chin. Opposite, an antithetic but broader curve is formed by the contour of the skull. The hair falls down on both sides from a parting in the middle and, being kept behind the ears, reaches slightly below the level of the chin. Towards the forehead and the temples, it appears in orderly waves, while below the ears it forms two straight, vertical strands to each side. The ear-lobes are covered by large, round, ornamental discs, each in the shape of a five-petalled flower. Another accessory is the bead necklace to be seen on what little is portrayed of the neck below the face.

The most striking single feature in the frontal aspect of the face is no doubt the inordinately large eyes. They



Fig. 1 Antefix MM 1976:9.



Fig. 2. Antefix MM 1976:9.

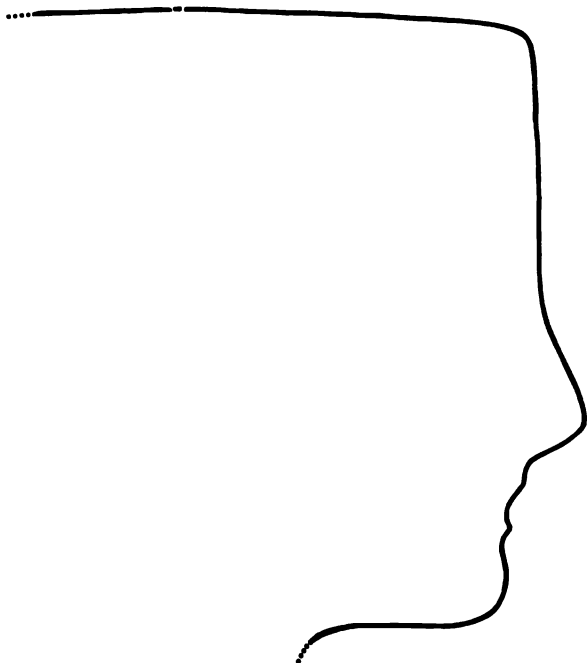


Fig. 3. Antefix MM 1976:9. Vertical profile. Drawing by E. Rystedt.

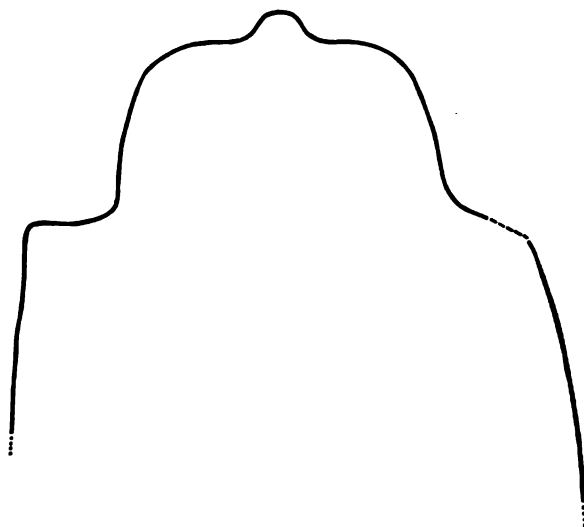


Fig. 4. Antefix MM 1976:9. Horizontal profile at the level of the eyes. Drawing by E. Rystedt.

cover nearly the whole width of the face, and their horizontal extent is underlined by the elegantly curved brows, which come all the way up to the hairline. The eyes are not only long but are also opened wide, with enormous irises. Another distinctive trait is their low position in relation to the base of the nose.

In comparison with the eyes, the nose and the mouth are less conspicuous; however, this does not mean that they lack character. The mouth especially is quite distinctive in the frontal view, with its short but full lips, the upper lip forming a delicate Cupid's bow. By contrast, the nose has a slight plumpness about it that comes from its width, together with the conspicuousness of the nostrils.

The side view of the piece (Fig. 1) allows us to appreciate antefix and tile as an architectonic unit. The transition from one element to the other occurs along a line starting by the rear contour of the side hair of the antefix and continuing up behind the ears, the joint being, however, invisible from the outside. The antefix is seen to reach a lower level than the backing tile. This means that, in its original position on the roof, the antefix was hanging down somewhat over the eaves. A row of such antefixes broke the uniform line of the roof edge at regular intervals and so strengthened the enlivening

accent that their mere presence brought to the eaves.

As for the antefix itself, the profile view completes the impression of the face. It will be noted that the forehead recedes only slightly, that the nose is, unmistakably, a turned-up one, and that the chin is well articulated. Though eye and eyebrow are less striking than in the front view, the wide gaze comes out quite well here, too. A detail to be noted is that the inner corner of the eye appears behind the iris, which is actually impossible in the strict profile view. The line of the cheek towards mouth and nose is straight, with no trace of the curve imposed even by the faintest smile. The ear, though at a proper depth and a proper height, shows a rather unnatural configuration, which is more apparent from this angle than in the frontal view of the face. Furthermore, the side view discloses the obtuse angle formed by the hairline at the transition from the undulations at the forehead and temples to the straightness of the hanging strand. The skull appears flattened on top, where the head merges with the cover-tile.

The colours employed are cream for the skin of the face, the parting and the wavy lines in the hair and (probably) the major part of the tile; black for the hair,

the eyes (eyelids and iris), the eyebrows, the contours of the petals and of the central round in the ear ornaments, every second bead of the necklace (one black bead preserved) and a transverse band at the tile; red for the mouth, the lachrymal glands at the inner corners of the eyes, the inner lining of the ears, the central round of the ear ornaments and every second bead of the necklace (one and a half red beads preserved); and light brown for the petals of the ear ornaments.

The suppression of the back part of the head by the cover-tile gives to the antefix a mask-like quality, which it shares with all other head antefixes. Among these, the gorgon antefixes stand apart from the rest on account of their extreme flatness. This head has much more depth, yet it contains traits that weaken its substantiality. One of these is the representation of the eyes as oversized and opened unnaturally wide. Another, more subtle one is the treatment of the sculptural volume, showing an overriding sense of decorative line and colour, in other words, the two-dimensional approach to three-dimensional form.

This takes us into the sphere of style, actually to the stylistic essence of the antefix, for most of the single characteristics to be presented below seem to be dependent on this basic approach.

The stylization of the antefix is instantly observed. It is evident both in larger shapes, like the geometrized oval of the face, and in single features, especially the eyes, the eyebrows and the ears. There is only a faint link between this kind of ear and the real thing, which is less regular and more complex.

Actually, the ear has been turned into a linear pattern, in which two colours, red and cream, are contrasted. A similar effect is produced by the depiction of the waves of the hair as thin, white lines; their regular movement against the dominant black—once again a two-colour scheme—would be quite effective as, for instance, a textile pattern.

The painted waves altogether lack plasticity, and this is true also for the eyebrows and the necklace, which are perceptible through colour only. A reduced plasticity characterizes several other features as well: the ears, barely set off from the skull and lacking a hollowed-out interior; the eyes, with only a very slight bulge for the globe and no eyelids; the hairline against the forehead, whose waves are recognized as plastic only if one moves a finger along them.

The indifference to sculptural effects is evidenced also by the summary modelling of larger surfaces. The

face is treated in the main as a plain expanse hardly moved by the dimples and shades that belong to the living human face and little affected by the underlying bone structure. As for the hair, the only attempt at sculptural diversification is the superficial division of the side hair into tresses. The uniformity is underlined by the use of flat colour, cream for the face and black for the hair.

The larger surfaces also exemplify a tendency to use planes set at an angle to each other. The lower part of the hair shows two distinct planes at right angles to each other. These planes are carried upwards as far as the ear, which is schematically divided between the two, the "side plane" showing its upper and middle part and the "front plane" the disc ornament at the lobe. Still higher up, one notes another, equally abrupt transition between the plane of the skull and that of the forehead and temples. The phenomenon is present in the face, too. Here, however, it is much less obtrusive, since the planes involved—that of the brow and eyes and those of the temples—correspond better to the actual organic structure, and the angle between them is less marked than in the previous examples. Still, one cannot but notice the peculiar way in which eye and eyebrow each stretch across two planes, their outer portions curving unnaturally away from the inner ones, in a manner recalling the treatment of the ear (see Fig. 4).

Many of these characteristics are closely related, so closely related, in fact, that their separation may be felt as artificial and superfluous. It certainly is with regard to the artistic genesis of the piece and our comprehension of it; for the man who made the primary model for the antefix hardly thought of single traits to be added while working with the clay. To distinguish such traits may help us rather when we want to find out where and when the antefix was made, and in connection with what specific, stylistic current.

The Etruscan antefixes were treated comprehensively for the first time by the Swedish scholar Andrén in his work on the Etrusco-Italic architectural terracotta;³ though it was published forty years ago, this study is still the most authoritative one in print. Andrén divides the antefixes into types more or less clearly corresponding to different archetypes. Each type is described in some detail and its occurrence specified by reference to all the single, known antefixes representing it; of these, at least one is reproduced photographically. Although a glance through Andrén's plates does not reveal an antefix exactly like the present one,

it conducts us definitely towards the archaic antefixes from Cerveteri.⁴ Some of these come close not only in general form and style—face oval, hair parted in the middle and falling down in two strands on each side, features relying as much on paint as on modelling, line and colour chiefly responsible for the overall effect—but also in particulars, without, however, casting doubt on the distinctness of the type.

The Stockholm specimen is actually not the sole surviving representative. Various museums in Europe and America contain antefixes relating to the same archetype which were acquired many years ago. Further examples (including this one) became known only lately. The list given here comprises the examples that I know of. My sources have been the different kinds of publications in which they appear. Since the photographic documentation is all-important in a study of this kind, when one has no opportunity to see the pieces for oneself, its character and quality are specified for each item.

1. Cerveteri, Museo Nazionale

Excavated in the nineteen-thirties within the borders of the ancient city of Cerveteri (Vigna Parrocchiale).

R. Mengarelli, *Il luogo e i materiali del tempio di Hera a Caere*, *StEtr* 10, 1936, p. 76, Tav. XXV:5 (*en face* view, black-and-white, bad quality); Andrén, p. 22 (type I:4c); P. J. Riis, *Tyrrhenika*, Copenhagen 1941, p. 10, no. 8; C. H. Pennock (see *infra* under no. 3), p. 11, Tav. III (*en face* and profile view, black-and-white, good quality); M. Moretti, *Cerveteri*, Novara 1977, p. 62, Ill. 89 (three-quarter view, colour, good quality) with caption on p. 16.

2. Paris, Louvre No. 5157

Bought by the museum from Count Campana, whose collection is known to have centred around material supplied from the unofficial excavations of the last century at Cerveteri.

J. Martha, *L'Art Etrusque*, Paris 1889, Fig. 141 (*en face* view, of minute size); G. Q. Giglioli, *L'Arte etrusca*, Milan 1935, p. 34, Tav. CLXXXIII:1 (*en face* view, black-and-white, good quality); Andrén, p. 33 (type II:11b), Pl. 9:31 (*en face* view, black-and-white, bad quality); Pennock (see *infra* under no. 3), p. 12, Tav. IV (*en face* view, black-and-white, good quality).

On the face of it, this antefix seems to be of a different type. It has a rectangular base, and on top of the head there is a crested helmet incorporating goat's horns and ears, in conformity with the iconography of Juno Sospita. Yet these parts, along with a few more, minor ones, are late-nineteen-century additions. I follow Pennock in regarding the rest as an exam-

ple of the same type as that represented by the Cerveteri piece.

3. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Fogg Museum of Art Of unknown provenience.

C. H. Pennock, *An Etruscan Antefix in the Fogg Museum of Art*, *ArchCl* 6, 1954, pp. 9–16, Tav. II (*en face* and profile view, black-and-white, good quality).

4. Rome, Museo di Villa Giulia

A surface find made in the nineteen-fifties at the site of ancient Pyrgi, one of the ports of ancient Cerveteri.

G. Foti, in Santa Severa (Roma). *Scavi e ricerche nel sito dell'antica Pyrgi (1957–1958)*, *NSc*, ser. 8, 13, 1959, pp. 182–183, Fig. 32:2 (*en face* view, black-and-white, bad quality).

This antefix is much abraded and difficult to judge from the published photograph. What, nevertheless, permits its association with the others on the list, apart from the somewhat generalized likeness (owing to the poor state of preservation), is the observation on the part of the publisher that the one, preserved, disc earring has painted radial lines on it (not visible on the photograph); this pattern (actually a rosette) corresponds to that used on antefixes of the present type, while it would not seem to occur on the other Caeretan, female-head antefixes without a diadem.⁵

5. Rome, Museo di Villa Giulia

Excavated in the nineteen-sixties in an ancient well (*pozzo*) at Quartaccio di Ceri, not far from Cerveteri.

L. Ricci Portoghesi, *Una nuova lastra dipinta cerite*, *ArchCl* 18, 1966, p. 16, Tav. IV (three-quarter view, black-and-white, bad quality).

6. At a Swiss art dealer's in 1976. Present location unknown to me.

Of unknown provenience.

Palladion. Antike Kunst. Katalog 1976, No. 95, p. 79 and plate on the opposite page (*en face* view, colour, good quality).

Adding the Stockholm piece, we may thus set the number of surviving specimens of the type at around seven.⁶ Two of these—the Cerveteri museum and the Louvre antefixes—were in fact known to Andrén, turning up, as they did, before his book was published. However, he neither recognized the (probable) identity of their types, nor the independence of this type in relation to the others presented by him.⁷ This appears from his references to the two antefixes in connection with his types I:4d and II:11b respectively, both differ-

ent from ours. Today the distinction is more easily made, since more and better-preserved and better-illustrated specimens of the type represented by the Stockholm piece are available.

The three antefixes found at Cerveteri or in the area under its immediate control (nos. 1, 4 and 5) have a special position in the series: they are the only ones whose find-spots are officially recorded. On this point they serve as an anchor for the floating remainder, binding them to their own place of origin. As long as examples of the type do not turn up in regular excavations at other Etruscan sites, too, a Caeretan provenience may thus be considered as established for the Stockholm antefix and its enumerated counterparts in museums and elsewhere outside Italy. They were all excavated unofficially. The dates of their appearances testify to clandestine activity stretching over a hundred years. The Paris piece (and possibly also the Cambridge, Mass., one) is to be connected with the extensive operations at Cerveteri of the last century, while the two remaining antefixes, including the present one,⁸ may be sad evidence of fresh exploitation, their roughly simultaneous appearance on the market indicating a single, lately available source.

As long as the Cerveteri antefix was the only example in existence with a secure provenience, it could be assumed that all the known pieces derived from the

area of this city proper.⁹ The later finds at Pyrgi and Ceri make it clear that antefixes of this type were used not only in the metropolis but at other localities within the Caeretan territory as well.¹⁰ That a single workshop could meet the demands of several localities is hardly surprising, especially considering the short distances involved. More significant is the plural existence within a limited area of the kind of pretentious architecture symbolized by such antefixes.

The stratigraphical contexts of the excavated antefixes are in each case too vague to provide anything like a close date. Therefore, to learn when the antefix type was in use, one has to proceed by comparing it stylistically with other works of sculpture, for which dates have been determined.

Andrén did the first work on these lines for the entire group of archaic Caeretan antefixes in the form of female heads. On the basis of mainly form and style, he arranged the types in what he considered to be their relative chronological order, and the series was made to run within the framework of two fifty-year periods, 600–550 B.C. and 550–500 B.C.¹¹ Though it may need to be adjusted and precised especially in terms of absolute dates,¹² this system is still basically valid. Its general tenor is that of a movement from small to large, from plain to elaborate, from mask-like, strongly stylized appearances to more life-like ones.

Fig. 5. Antefix in Berlin (Pergamon Museum). After Andrén, Pl. 6:15.



Fig. 6. Antefix in Berlin (Pergamon Museum). After Andrén, Pl. 6:16.





Fig. 7. Antefix in Berlin (Pergamon Museum). After Andrén, Pl. 6:13.

Fig. 8. Antefix in London (British Museum). After Andrén, Pl. 9:28.



The position with respect to the form and style of the Stockholm antefix in relation to the types of Andrén's series may be expressed in two ways.

On the one hand, it most resembles antefixes of types I:4c and I:4d (Figs. 5–6).¹³ These share its general style, as described above. The hair is rendered alike as a black mass scalloped above the forehead and falling down in two tresses on either side. In type I:4d it is diversified by sparse white lines in overlay paint, as in the present piece, and here likewise it leaves more of the forehead exposed. The ears of both types are greatly stylized and lack plasticity. I:4c has the wide gaze and I:4d the broad nose of the Stockholm antefix. Despite individual marks, the three heads seem to represent roughly the same typological stage.¹⁴

On the other hand, the antefix (and with it those of Andrén's types I:4c and I:4d) appears to be about midway between types I:4a and II:11a (Figs. 7–8).¹⁵ The former is somewhat smaller than the present piece. The stylization is more marked, both as regards the face and the hair; the shape of the former approximates to a triangle in the front view, and the latter gives the impression of a smooth wig rather than of natural hair. In short, the appearance has more the character of a mask than that of the Stockholm item. II:11a, on the contrary, shows the gradual melting of this character at a more advanced stage than in the Stockholm piece. One immediately notes the more life-like rendering of hair, ears and eyes by both sculptural and pictorial means. The hair has a series of plastic waves all over. The waves carry a close network of painted lines, which, unlike the sparse ones, convey a sense of the texture of the hair. The interior structure of the ears is indicated plastically and the pupils are set off from the iris by a different colour. Among individual antefixes of the type, there is variability of colour and pattern, a feature not encountered in connection with I:4c, I:4d or the present type. There are both ear ornaments and a diadem, the latter rising above the backing tile.

Types I:4c and I:4d are assigned by Andrén to the period 600–550 B.C., as is also type I:4a, while he places II:11a between 550 and 500 B.C. On these premises—my correlation of the Stockholm antefix with Andrén's types and Andrén's absolute dates for the latter—a date around 550 B.C. (rather before than after) may seem reasonable.

However, such dating remains somewhat unsatisfactory, since its grounds are too imprecise. Before using types I:4a and II:11a in combination for an intermediate date,¹⁶ it would be better try to establish

the more exact chronological position of each. I:4a ought to be placed after 575 B.C.¹⁷ II:11a belongs late in the third, if not in the fourth quarter of the century.¹⁸ Therefore, we should probably move down somewhat into the second half of the century. 540–530 B.C. seems a better proposition. It entails a corresponding lowering of Andrén's date for types I:4c and I:4d.¹⁹

This date differs markedly from the only fully explained one so far given for an antefix of this type. In fact, the Fogg Art Museum piece was placed by Pennock, its publisher, in the following century, between 490 and 480 B.C.²⁰ What provoked this very late date, was, however, a misconception of its style as one midway between receding archaism and incipient classicism.²¹ Pennock's view is further contradicted by certain formal traits of respectable archaic vintage, such as the lack of a diadem (to say nothing of more elaborate, framing structure)²² and the overhang of the lower part of the antefix with respect to the backing tile.²³

In this light, the early fifth-century kore from the Acropolis adduced by Pennock as a valuable stylistic parallel to the present type of antefix²⁴ may be safely disregarded, as also quite likely the Attic influence which she is thereby led to assume;²⁵ the shallow modelling of the antefix in fact makes a striking contrast with contemporary Attic sculpture, with its vigorous modelling of all the single parts and features and its sense of structure.²⁶ However, the other Greek regions do not provide much better material for a comparison. As for the eastern-Greek korai and other sixth-century sculpture from Asia Minor and the islands near the coast (so far as it is known),²⁷ the modelling of faces is, on the whole, less thorough and distinct than in Attica or generally in mainland Greece, yet the forms are mostly more rounded and mellow than in this antefix. Sicily and Magna Graecia actually produced female-head antefixes of terracotta, but these are very different from the present one, the impression they give being always strongly sculptural and often crude.²⁸

Yet nobody would deny a strong Greek imprint. Its source should, however, probably be sought within a different geographical context—in sixth-century Etruria itself. This conclusion is not as surprising as it may first seem, for the penetration of Greek artists and artisans—not only Greek products—into archaic Etruria is becoming more and more clear as archaeological research proceeds and the indications from vase-painting, wall-painting and other artistic spheres multiply.²⁹ Among works which have supplied such indications can the best parallels to the antefix be found.



Fig. 9. Dancing woman. Tomba dei Giocolieri at Tarquinia. After M. Moretti, *Tarquinia*, Novara 1974, Ill. 38.

Fig. 10. Detail of a Pontic amphora in Munich. Courtesy of the Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek.



Painted wall decoration seem to offer the conceptually closest heads, such as that of the magnificent dancing woman of the Tomba dei Giocolieri at Tarquinia (Fig. 9)³⁰ or that appearing on a fragmentary terracotta plaque from Cerveteri now in Berlin.³¹ In both cases, the decorative line and a few, stark colours are basic to the composition. A detail of interest in the matter of colour is the red spot highlighting the cheek of the dancer in the Tarquinian tomb. The same kind of "rouge", though less bright, is actually present in the Stockholm antefix, too, as a faint preserved tint on the left cheek (visible in Fig. 2), to which one would not pay much heed without the evidence of the wall-painting.³² Other correspondences between the tomb head and the antefix are in the hair-style (the tight, non-plastic fit over forehead and skull, the scalloped hairline, the free fall of the strands below the level of the ear, the lack of a diadem), the ear ornament (large discs partly hiding the stylized ears), the eye (strikingly large) and the mouth (small but with full lips).³³

There is, however, a noticeable difference in flavour between the painted faces and the antefix: the difference between the mature and sensuous and the adolescent and alert. The face of another female in the Tomba dei Giocolieri is actually more in the vein of the present antefix, as it shares more of its physical set-up (hair-style and colouring are, however, different).³⁴ One may also profitably compare the female faces to be seen on painted vases like the Caeretan hydriae and the Pontic vases; those to be seen on the hydriae often have the same pretty traits with a slight touch of crudeness. Most congenial within this category is perhaps the youthfully pert Aphrodite on the famous Pontic amphora in Munich (Fig. 10).³⁵

The works referred to are roughly contemporary with the antefix; all are heavily indebted to eastern-Greek or Ionian traditions, if not actually executed by immigrant Ionians.³⁶ Since the antefix is in good agreement with them, it can be assigned to the same stylistic sphere, perhaps most aptly called "Etruscanized Ionian", in recognition of its primary connection with Ionian Greeks operating in Etruria and in acceptance of the impracticability of distinguishing between a Greek and an Italian hand, where, as in this case, there are no inscriptions to guide us.³⁷

The implication that the archetype of the antefix may be the work of a Greek has some interesting corollaries. One is that the production of architectural terracotta in sixth-century Etruria was perhaps not the altogether native affair which one is prone to assume

after reading about Vulca and looking at the famous sculptures from Veii.³⁸ Another is that Greeks may have participated in the manufacture of a roof terracotta that was more at home in Italy than in Greece—if this is true of the female-head antefix.³⁹

Finally, let us return for a moment to the style of the antefix, more specifically to its "pictorial" impact and the obvious correspondence to schemes used in contemporary wall-painting. To take these traits fully into account, I believe that we should envisage the production of antefixes such as this as taking place in close conjunction with the decoration of walls, i.e. as involving, if not the same persons, then perhaps the same workshops. Considering the importance of painting in the fabrication of sixth-century, architectural terracotta—to which this antefix itself bears witness, alongside elements like painted simas and eaves-tiles—a workshop producing roof terracottas combined with painted wall decoration, and maybe also painted ceramics, would not be an anomaly;⁴⁰ besides, it would fit in particularly well at Cerveteri, with its multiple evidence of wall-painting executed on slabs of terracotta.⁴¹ That sculpture and painting could, indeed, be practised by a single man in central Italy in late archaic times is clear from ancient testimony: the account given by Pliny of how the Greek (*sic!*) artists Damophilos and Gorgasos went about to decorate the Roman temple of Ceres, Liber and Libera (inaugurated in 493 B.C.), each doing the sculpture and painting relative to one half of the temple.⁴²

Following the same line of thought, one may wonder about the part played by people practising wall-painting or at any rate influenced by it in the formation at Cerveteri of the fundamentally non-plastic style which is represented in the second half of the sixth century by several three-dimensional sculptures of terracotta besides the antefix treated here; one may cite most of the Caeretan, sixth-century, female-head antefixes starting with Andrén's type I:4a (Fig. 7),⁴³ and also such famous works as the large terracotta akroterion in Berlin, the reclining couple of the "Sarcofago degli Sposi" in Rome, etc.⁴⁴

The issue, which seems hitherto not to have been looked at seriously from this specific angle,⁴⁵ is naturally too large and too problematic to be treated even sketchily here. As for the functioning of the archaic Etruscan workshops for terracotta production, it has lately attracted the attention of more than one scholar⁴⁶ but nonetheless requires much more study before we can know even part of what we want to know. Still, it is

a merit of the antefix in the Medelhavsmuseet to have directed our attention to these questions, as well as to the historically important one of Greek presence in Etruria. Besides, it is a delightful piece of art, embody-

In addition to the current abbreviations of the names of archaeological journals, I shall use the following: Andrén = A. Andrén, *Architectural terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples* (Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae, 4^o, 6), Lund and Leipzig 1940; Bianchi Bandinelli & Giuliano = R. Bianchi Bandinelli & A. Giuliano, *Etruschi e Italici prima del dominio di Roma*, Milan 1973; Bianchi Bandinelli & Paribeni = R. Bianchi Bandinelli & E. Paribeni, *L'Arte dell'Antichità Classica. Grecia*, Turin 1976; Bianchi Bandinelli & Torelli = R. Bianchi Bandinelli & M. Torelli, *L'Arte dell'Antichità Classica. Etruria. Roma*, Turin 1976; Cristofani = M. Cristofani, *L'Arte degli Etruschi. Produzione e consumo*, Turin 1978; Sprenger & Bartoloni = M. Sprenger & G. Bartoloni, *Die Etrusker. Kunst und Geschichte*, Munich 1977.

¹ MM 1976:9. Acquired in 1976 from a Swiss dealer. Deposited in the museum by the Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities.

² The drawings of Figs. 3–4 are profile drawings, not sections; the latter would have been preferable but could not be realized on account of the way in which the antefix is actually accommodated in the exhibition.

³ See the list of abbreviations preceding the notes.

⁴ Andrén, Pl. 6 and Pl. 9.

⁵ A second antefix, also damaged, from Pyrgi (Inv.No. 51272) is apparently regarded by its publisher as belonging to the type under discussion here: cf. F. Melis, *I materiali architettonici di attribuzione incerta. Le terrecotte di copertura e di rivestimento. 1. "Prima fase"*, in *Pyrgi* (NSc., II Suppl. al vol. 24, 1970), pp. 648–649 with Fig. 493 (*en face* view, black-and-white, bad quality). It is again difficult to decide from the picture, but two details of the description make me doubtful about the identification: "... l'orecchio, ben modellato in rilievo molto basso", and "non è chiaro se sul lobo fosse dipinto un orecchino" (the latter implying a sculpturally less emphasized, ear ornament than in the present case; for ear-rings represented in the main by painting, see Andrén, Pl. 6:13, 16).

I wish to thank Francesca Melis for a good reproduction in a larger size of the antefix in question, as well as for supplementary information regarding it and no. 4 in my list. In her letter to me of June 1980, she announces a forthcoming (NSc) correction of her 1970 text regarding the eyelids of Pyrgi Inv.No. 51272; they are modelled and not only painted. This tends to confirm my own impression that the antefix is of a type distinct from the present one.

An antefix in Leipzig referred to by Melis in connection

ing something of the spirit of ancient Caere—a prosperous city which strove to be as elegant as any of the great centres around the Mediterranean.

with her Pyrgi piece (E. Paul. *Antike Welt in Ton. Griechische und römische Terrakotten des archäologischen Institutes in Leipzig*, Leipzig 1959, Taf. 93, Abb. 366) seems to be different both from Pyrgi 51272 and the Stockholm antefix; it may rather represent Andrén's type I:4d (Andrén, Pl. 6:16). the rest of her *comparanda* are incorporated in my catalogue. See also *infra*, n. 10.

⁶ Further specimens may exist, especially on the art market.

⁷ It should be noted that Riis (see *supra* under no. 1 in my list), basing his opinion on the Cerveteri museum antefix, recognized the present type as an independent one; he did not, however, refer the Paris piece to it. Mengarelli in fact also treated the Cerveteri piece as representing a type of its own, as appears from the less formal list of antefix types which he drew up (*StEtr* 10, 1936, pp. 74–78).

⁸ Cf. *supra*, n. 1.

⁹ Mengarelli, *StEtr* 10, 1936, p. 76; Pennock, *ArchCl* 6, 1954, p. 12.

¹⁰ The Pyrgi antefix could not be ascribed to a specific building (cf. the literature cited under no. 4 in my list). The two well-known, large temples at the site in any case are too late for it. At Ceri, unlike Pyrgi, no architectural remains, except the well, have as yet been discovered. It has been suggested that the well was part of a sanctuary (F. Roncalli, *Le lastre dipinte da Cerveteri*, Florence 1965, p. 101; Sprenger & Bartoloni, p. 106).

To Pyrgi and Ceri, we may eventually have to add the sanctuary site of Montetosto, on the road between Cerveteri and Pyrgi (still in the main unpublished; for a preliminary report, see G. Colonna, *Un nuovo santuario dell'agro Cereetano*, *StEtr* 31, 1963, pp. 135–147). The reference to antefixes of the present type found there appears in the text of F. Melis indicated above in note 5.

¹¹ Andrén, pp. 20–22 (I:4a–e, 600–550 B.C.) and pp. 31–35 (II:11a–c, 550–500 B.C.).

¹² In one case, a change of the relative order of the antefix types is recommendable; see *infra*, n. 43.

¹³ Andrén, p. 22 and Pl. 6:15–16.

¹⁴ More precisely one may suggest a slightly later place for I:4d in relation to the present type and I:4c. In I:4d, the archaic resilience shown by the two latter is subtly being undermined.

¹⁵ Andrén, pp. 20–21 and Pl. 6:13; p. 32 and Pl. 9:28.

¹⁶ An absolute date determined in this way, though logically irreproachable, may, of course, be factually wrong, as the "development" could have proceeded—and quite likely did proceed—at an uneven speed; however, when we attempt to measure it, the instruments fail us.

¹⁷ A date before or around 575 B.C. would place I:4a alongside the evidently more archaic, female-head antefix from Veii, unanimously dated in the early sixth century; see, e.g., Bianchi Bandinelli & Torelli, A.E., no. 46 ("inizi del VI secolo a. C."); Bianchi Bandinelli & Giuliano, p. 157, caption to Fig. 182 ("c. 575"). Cf. also the date of around 550 B.C. lately assigned to type I:4a; Bianchi Bandinelli & Torelli, A.E., no. 77.

¹⁸ The degree of elaboration and finesse shown by this antefix hardly allows of an earlier date, if one follows conventional dating. As has been noted, the antefix type comes very close to the head of a figurative akroterion from Cerveteri now in Berlin (winged goddess holding a boy in her arms). The date assigned by Torelli to the latter is 530 B.C. (Bianchi Bandinelli & Torelli, A.E., no. 76) and by Cristofani 530–520 B.C. (Cristofani, caption to Ill. 64).

¹⁹ A similar date for type I:4d (550–530 B.C.) was given by Gjerstad in connection with a fragment found in Rome (E. Gjerstad, *Early Rome IV:2* (Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae, ser. in 4^o, 17:4), Lund 1966, p. 571).

²⁰ Pennock, *ArchCl* 6, 1954, p. 15. This dating was followed in a recent study: N. Winter, *Archaic Architectural Terracottas decorated with Human Heads, RömMitt* 85, 1978, p. 41, with n. 36: 500–480 B.C. (with no specific arguments). Winter's dating compels the assumption (likewise on p. 41) that antefixes without frames continued to be produced at Caere at a time when frames were almost universal, a difficulty which is resolved by the earlier date.

Mengarelli appears also to have favoured a fifth-century date, judging by the relative position of the Caeretan museum piece in his chronological list of antefixes from Vigna Parrocchiale at Cerveteri, after an early classical antefix (*StEir* 10, 1936, p. 76).

Otherwise the dates are within the sixth century, though rather widely separated: Moretti, *Cerveteri*, p. 16, caption to Ill. 89: "prima metà VI secolo a. C." (without arguments); Foti, *NSc* 13, 1959, p. 183: "ultimo quarto del VI secolo av. Cr. (520–510)" (on the basis of an argued similarity in facial structure, said to be triangular, to an antefix from Satricum and to a mixed group of Caeretan antefixes found by Mengarelli at Cerveteri); Riis, *Tyrrenika*, p. 10, no. 8: 510–500 B.C. (on basis of its being more developed than the preceding type on his chronological list (= II: 11a of Andrén's series), and comparing it with Kore No. 685 from the Acropolis; note that the date is not given explicitly but has been inferred (by Pennock, whom I follow) from the dates given for the preceding and the following items on the list).

²¹ Pennock, *ArchCl* 6, 1954, p. 14.

²² The antefixes placed by Andrén in his first period (600–550 B.C.) all lack a diadem (cf. Andrén, p. CXXXVII).

²³ This feature is described by Andrén as an archaic trait (p. CLXII); his cited examples all date from the sixth century. When the feature is seen in an antefix dating from the early fifth century (Caere type III:5, Pl. 18:54), Andrén remarks (p. 48) that it belongs to the typologically early traits connecting

this rather odd-looking antefix with those dated in the first part of the preceding century.

²⁴ Kore No. 684. H. Payne & G. M. Young, *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Akropolis*, London 1936, pp. 38–39, Pls. 79–80; G. M. Richter, *Korai. Archaic Greek Maidens*, London 1968, p. 101, Figs. 578–582.

²⁵ Pennock, *ArchCl* 6, 1954, pp. 15–16.

²⁶ The best photographic assemblage is still that of Payne & Young (*supra*, n. 24). Admittedly, the characterization applies to stone sculpture, in which different conventions and styles may have been followed. Any such discrepancies between the two media are, however, not easily discerned when archaic terracotta sculpture is a scantily preserved as it is in Attica (and Ionia as well).

²⁷ Numerous pictures (of varying quality) of eastern-Greek, archaic sculpture have been conveniently gathered together in a couple of recent handbooks: Bianchi Bandinelli & Paribeni, nos. 145–149, 156, 160, 168–169, 173–176, 178, 185–186 and 196–197; J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture. The Archaic Period*, London 1978, Ills. 81–97 and 216–221.

²⁸ Winter (*supra*, n. 20) places seven antefix types from Sicily and southern Italy in the period 560–530 B.C. (pp. 35–38, Pls. 12:1, 12:2, 13:1, 13:2, 14:3 and 14:4). This chronology may, however, be somewhat too early.

²⁹ *Vase-painting*. The master of the so-called Caeretan hydriae was an eastern Greek, as is demonstrated by extant inscriptions in Ionian Greek. His workshop was verisimilarly at Caere. The thirty-odd vases which he and his apprentices issued may be dated within the third and earliest part of the last quarter of the sixth century. J. M. Hemelrijk, *De Caeretaanse Hydriae*, Rotterdam 1956, is the basic study, together with V. Kallipolitis, *Les Hydries de Caere. Essai de classification*, *AntCl* 24, 1955, pp. 384–411. For good introductions, see Bianchi Bandinelli & Torelli, A.E., no. 99; Bianchi Bandinelli & Paribeni, no. 193; Sprenger & Bartoloni, p. 103 (Taf. 70).

The so-called Pontic vases, possibly produced at Vulci and datable between c. 560 and 530 B.C., have been considered by many as products of another Ionian workshop in Etruria (cf. Bianchi Bandinelli & Torelli, A.E., no. 98; Sprenger & Bartoloni, p. 104 (Taf. 72)). Note, however, that L. Hannestad, the author of two recent monographs on the rather large material (*The Paris Painter. An Etruscan Vase-painter*, Copenhagen 1974, and *The Followers of the Paris Painter*, Copenhagen 1976) does not believe that the workmanship is Greek (as appears from the title of her first book).

A few other, more restricted, vase groups are commonly held to be the works of resident Greeks. These are the so-called Campana Group, a prime example of which is the so-called Ricci hydria in the Villa Giulia museum in Rome (Bianchi Bandinelli & Paribeni, no. 192) and the so-called Northampton Group. See F. Villard, *Deux dinoi d'un peintre ionien au Louvre*, *MonPiot* 43, 1948, pp. 33–57; R. M. Cook, *A List of Clazomenian Pottery*, *BSA* 47, 1952, pp. 123–152; R. M. Cook & J. M. Hemelrijk, *A Hydria of the Campana Group in Bonn*,

Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen 5, 1963, pp. 107–120.

Wall-painting. The participation of Greeks has been suspected on stylistic grounds by several scholars. Of possible relevance are the colour pigments recently excavated at Gravisca, one of the ports of ancient Tarquinia, in connection with a settlement bearing a strong Greek stamp (*NSc*, ser. 8, 25, 1971, pp. 238 and 299). The find may indicate not only the source of the painting materials used in wall decoration but also the Greek nationality of some of the decorators. Furthermore, the links between certain wall-paintings and certain Greek classes of vases produced inside or outside Etruria are gradually being illuminated. Lately, the similarities between sixth-century wall-painting in Etruria and the contemporaneous paintings, evidently executed by Greeks, to be seen on some walls of houses and tombs in Phrygia and Lycia in Asia Minor have been pointed out, and the above-mentioned vase-paintings have begun to be considered in connection with both manifestations (Cristofani, pp. 84–91).

Architectural terracotta. Within this sphere, the presence of Greek hands has been suggested only very recently (apart from the much earlier claims by Furtwängler and others, for which see Andrén, p. CXLIX with n. 4). Torelli suspects that a Greek may have been responsible for the painted pattern on a lateral sima from Gravisca (M. Torelli, *Terrecotte architettoniche arcaiche da Gravisca e una nota a Plinio*, *NH XXXV*, 151–52, *Nuovi quaderni dell'Istituto di archeologia dell'Università di Perugia* 1, 1979 (Studi in onore di F. Magi), p. 308 (I am indebted to Charlotte Scheffer for the reference to this article.) A rather different case is that of the akroterial group of Athena and Herakles from the Forum Boarium in Rome. Here the argument is based not only on the style and quality of the work, but also on a lamp of distinctly Greek type made from the same terracotta as the architectural group and found in the same archaeological context; perhaps this is an indication of Greek authorship for the sculpture (A. Sommella Mura, "L'introduzione di Eracle all'Olimpo" in un gruppo arcaico in terracotta dall'area sacra di S. Omobono: note su una bottega coroplastica a Roma nella 2a metà del VI sec. a.C., *Bollettino dei Musei Comunali di Roma* 24, 1977, pp. 3–15).

Admittedly, there is for the moment a certain enthusiasm for discovering Greeks behind (unsigned) works of art produced in Etruria; it may be contrasted with the stressing of the Italic character of Etruscan art often met with in earlier research (in Italy especially in the period between the two world wars). In the future, we shall probably see more of the former trend, and justifiably so, if evidence of resident Greeks, such as that at Gravisca, is repeated at other Etruscan sites, confirming the impression given by the visual arts of a wholesale Greek permeation of the Etruscan culture.

Even without additional discoveries, Cerveteri merits at least a secondary place along-side Gravisca, as far as inscriptional evidence goes; I am referring to the find made by Mengarelli at Cerveteri of a cache of smashed pottery inscribed in Greek with the name of Hera (*StEtr* 10, 1936, pp.

84–86). On this ground, Mengarelli postulated as early as 1936 a temple on the akropolis of the city to the Greek goddess, as well as Greek devotees. By the way, this is the temple with which he associated the antefix of the present type found by himself (no. 1 on my list); it derives from the same archaeological context as the inscribed sherds, though these are appreciably later (fourth to third century B.C.).

³⁰ M. Moretti, *Nuovi monumenti della pittura etrusca*, Milan 1966, p. 25; Sprenger & Bartoloni, Taf. 93.

³¹ Andrén, Pl. 7:20; Roncalli (*supra*, n. 10), Tav. IX; Cristofani, Ill. 45.

³² Note, however, Mengarelli's observation of 1936 with respect to the Cerveteri museum piece: "pomelli marcati e lievemente tinti di rosa" (*StEtr* 10, 1936, p. 76).

³³ This kind of mouth may be called the petal-lipped mouth in conformity to Italian *labbra "a petali"*, an expression chosen for the similarity of the lips, as seen in profile, to two petals; cf. Ricci Portoghesi, *ArchCl* 18, 1966, p. 21 (*supra*, under no. 5 on my list). The petal-lipped mouth is a distinctive mark of the painted faces to be seen in a closely linked group of Etruscan wall-paintings: those of the Tomba degli Auguri, Tomba delle Leonesse and Tomba dei Giocolieri at Tarquinia, as well as those of the cited plaque in Berlin and the plaque showing a warrior from Ceri (for the Ceri plaque, see Ricci Portoghesi, *ArchCl* 18, 1966, pp. 16–22; Roncalli (*supra*, n. 10), pp. 101–102 and Tav. XXIX; Sprenger & Bartoloni, p. 106, Abb. 27; note, by the way, that an antefix of the present type was found in the same well deposit as a number of fragments belonging to the Ceri plaque: Ricci Portoghesi, p. 16). The mouth seems to represent an artistic fashion limited to southern, coastal Etruria and of short duration. The Stockholm antefix, as far as I know, is the first, commented example in three-dimensional art.

³⁴ The petite woman balancing a candelabrum on her head (Moretti (*supra*, n. 30), p. 29 and dust jacket; Sprenger & Bartoloni, Taf. 92). This figure likewise has a red circle on the cheek. A similarity of profile to certain male faces, especially in the Tomba degli Auguri, is also demonstrable; see, for example Cristofani, Ill. 41 (the judge of the contest).

³⁵ Sprenger & Bartoloni, Taf. 72 and p. 104.

³⁶ For the wall-paintings, see especially Cristofani, pp. 88–90. For the Caeretan hydriae and the Pontic vases, see *supra*, n. 29 with references. All the dates fall within the period 550–520 B.C. (The date of 510–490 given by Bianchi Bandinelli & Guiliano to the Tomba dei Giocolieri (p. 131, caption to Ill. 151 on the opposite page) is surely too late; cf. *supra*, n. 33 and Cristofani, p. 88).

³⁷ "Etruscanized Ionian" is used here in the same sense as "greco etruschizzato" of a Greek who had settled in Etruria (cf. C. Ampolo, Demarato. Osservazioni sulla mobilità sociale arcaica, *DialAr* 9–10, 1976–77, p. 338). I have chosen the term in conscious contrast to "Ionicizing/ionisierend/ionisante/ionizzante", which is used *passim* in Etruscological literature for adherence in general to eastern Greek patterns or traditions.

³⁸ Pliny, NH XXXV, 157; cf. also *EAA*, s.v. Vulca (Pallottino). For good pictures of the Veii sculptures, see, for example, Sprenger & Bartoloni, Taf. 117–125. Cf. also *supra*, n. 29. It would be equally erroneous not to allow for any Greeks being involved in the production of Etruscan architectural terracotta as to ascribe the major part of it to them.

³⁹ The question is not quite clear. According to Pliny, NH XXXV, 151, the antefix type with a human head was invented by a Greek from Sikyon by the name of Boutades working at Corinth. Winter (*supra*, n. 20) prefers to think that the idea of applying the sculptured human head to architectural terracotta originated in Italy and spread from there to Greece. The latter thesis may be based on the striking paucity of preserved antefixes of this kind in Greece proper (none from Corinth itself), as compared with the multitude in Italy (including the Greek areas of Southern Italy and Sicily). Winter adds the argument that the earliest Italian examples (Murlo and Taranto) pre-date the earliest Greek ones (Kalydon, Thermon, Korfu). The date of c. 650 B.C. for the Italian beginning may, however, be set a bit too high. The safest stratigraphical date of the Murlo pieces (Winter, Taf. 8:1–2) is not earlier than c. 620 B.C. (on this point, see my forthcoming dissertation on the early akroteria from Acquarossa and Murlo-Poggio Civitate), and the Taranto piece (Winter, Taf. 9:1), for which no stratigraphical date is available, is, I think, hardly earlier, in spite of its primitive appearance.

If, unlike Winter, one views the early history of the use of the human head antefix as developing along more than one line, one gets a picture, in which Boutades at Corinth, as well as any early Greek usage (Late Daedalic Crete should be added to Winter's early Greek sites: see S. Alexiou, N. Platon and H. Guanella, *Das antike Kreta*, Würzburg 1967, Taf. 227, and *Dädalische Kunst auf Kreta im 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Mainz am Rhein 1970, Taf. 45), may be accommodated alongside possibly indigenous Italian initiatives.

⁴⁰ Cf. Torelli (*supra*, n. 29), p. 312.

⁴¹ On these slabs (in fact, a kind of architectural terracotta), see the book by Roncalli (*supra*, n. 10). Of relevance is also another kind of painted plaque in evidence at Cerveteri; with its cavetto moulding, it is typologically closer to the mould-made frieze plaque, except that the decoration on the part of the plaque below the cavetto is in paint, not in relief (F. Melis, in *Gli Etruschi. Nuove ricerche e scoperte*, Viterbo 1972, pp. 96–97, Tav. XXVIII:b).

The combination of painted plaques and architectural sculpture in the decoration of a single building seems plausible on account of the finds at Vigna Parrocchiale at Cerveteri (Mengarelli, *StEtr* 10, 1936, pp. 80–81 and 74–77) and Quartaccio di Ceri (Ricci Portoghesi, *ArchCl* 18, 1966, p. 16).

⁴² Pliny, NH XXV, 154. Whether Damophilos and Gorgasos really divided the work on the temple in this way is of minor significance to us, compared with the double competence of each.

⁴³ Note, however, that Andrén's type I:4b (Pl. 6:14), being subdaedalic and thus stylistically earlier than Ionian I:4a, is to

be placed before, not after, the latter, and is therefore not included here (cf. the following note).

⁴⁴ For series of female-head antefixes, see Andrén, Pls. 6 and 9 (with the exception of Pl. 6:14/type I:4b, on which see the preceding note). For the Berlin akroterion, cf. *supra*, n. 18. "Sarcophago degli Sposi" in Rome: Bianchi Bandinelli & Torelli, A.E., no. 78; Sprenger & Bartoloni, Taf. 114–115.

Among the antefixes, the least plastic examples are Andrén's types I:4a and I:4c and the type of the one under discussion; these may signify the moment of closest "cohabitation" between terracotta sculpture and wall-painting at Cerveteri, perhaps coincidental with the arrival in Etruria of refugee artists (painters in particular?) from northern Ionia (for the migration of the Phocaeans c. 545 B.C., see Hdt. I, 164–66). Note the break that these early antefixes make with respect to the preceding subdaedalic type I:4b, which has a very perceptible sculptural impact (face and hair showing fully rounded forms, ears with plastic interiors, plastic rims around the eyes, etc.).

The Berlin akroterion (to which I hope to return in a later study) shows an interesting and too little noted fusion of sculpture and painting: while the folds of the mantle stand out in slight relief in front of the body, those of the chiton are merely painted on the flat space behind the legs, the change being, however, so subtle as to seem one of degree rather than of kind. The basic kinship in the treatment of the drapery between the Berlin akroterion and the "Sarcophago degli Sposi" becomes clear when one realizes that the delicate folds of the wife's garment in the latter might, for effect, have been represented nearly as well by painting.

⁴⁵ As long as no relevant terracotta sculpture turns up in Ionia proper (especially its northern part), I think the problem of the rather specific, early sculptural style in terracotta at Cerveteri may be approached as suggested, by way of hypothesis.

What is most needed for the moment, if any advances are to be made at all, is probably a fresh survey and analysis of the sculptural works that may be connected with this city, including the unduly neglected, human-head antefixes; lacking this, the new handbooks (like O. J. Brendel, *Etruscan Art*, Harmondsworth 1978; for the sixth-century terracotta sculpture from Cerveteri, see pp. 229–234) will not be able to add very much to the older ones. The only, modern, large-scale attempt to define the Caeretan sculptural style (both archaic and classical) was made by Riis in 1941, within the framework of a study of the entire Etruscan sculpture (see *supra*, under no. 1 on my list); today this work is, however, badly out of date and in need of revision.

⁴⁶ Most recently Cristofani—whose particular interest in the aspects of art production is revealed by the very title of his book (see the list of abbreviations preceding the notes),—and Torelli (*supra*, n. 29). The recent publication of the Pyrgi material and the forthcoming one of the Acquarossa and Poggio Civitate terracottas will no doubt prove very stimulating to further research.

The Swedish Carthage Excavations

Preliminary Report of the Second Campaign, September–October 1979
edited by Bengt Peterson

Introduction

Bengt Peterson

Although the second campaign in Carthage was planned for 1980, circumstances made it necessary to continue the excavations on site A already during the fall of 1979. The main reason was the landowner's urging his right to immediately dispose of the ground for building purposes, although the Swedish-Tunisian agreement assumed that the ground would be available for excavations from 1979 to 1981. After negotiations in the summer of 1979 and at the beginning of the campaign, it was clear that the ground would be free for excavations until November 1st, 1979. No answer could be given as to whether the Tunisian authorities were willing to support a prolongation of the work if the excavations proved to yield outstanding results. As regarded the question of preservation if important remains were found, the authorities gave a negative answer, as the site was situated in a building zone of urban Carthage. Thus, at the beginning of the campaign, the Swedish team was in a situation of acute salvage archaeology, having to document the site as fully as possible in a given period of time. This also implied that no preservation of uncovered remains *in situ* was envisaged.

The campaign started on September 3rd and was to last until November 4th. Work was resumed on site A exclusively. From the beginning, it was evident that no positive progress could be achieved without the help of a mechanical excavator and a bulldozer as the remains discovered during the first campaign were buried so deeply below the surface. The decision was taken to uncover as much as possible of the site within the walls of the architectural structure discovered. The main

problem was to stop this uncovering at a suitable moment, so that enough time would be left during the campaign to document the area uncovered. However, during this exploration of the site, the remains were considered so valuable that it was thought necessary to make the uncovering as extensive as possible. At this point the team was reinforced by two architects, in order to guarantee the complete documentation of the structures.

During the first month, it was already evident that the structures were of a complex nature and that the architectural details were of a unique character. The questions of prolonging the availability of the site and also of the eventual preservation of the remains were discussed with the Tunisian authorities. A positive agreement could be reached only a few days before the end of the campaign. The result was that the availability of the site for a third campaign was guaranteed and prospects were held out of the possible preservation of the remains or parts of them. During the uncertainties of these working conditions during the whole of the campaign, full responsibility was taken for safeguarding the documentation of the site and due respect was shown in view of the possible preservation. Only one accident—torrential rain on one day, which destroyed a small part of the architectural remains—did any damage to the monument.

This second Swedish campaign in Carthage took place under the direction of Dr Bengt Peterson, Stockholm. Miss Birgitta Sander, Stockholm, acted as Field Director, Miss Catherine Gerner, Copenhagen, as Architect, Dr Beate George, Stockholm, as Find Supervisor, Mrs Marie-Louise Blennow, Stockholm, as Pottery Supervisor. Mr Claus Grønne and Mr Steen Jensen, both of Copenhagen, were engaged as field archaeologists, both of them for part of the season

only. Photographer was Mr Per-Olof Bohlin, Uppsala. The architects appointed especially for the completion of the documentation were Mr Giuseppe Tilia, Rome, and Mr Kjell-Aage Nilson, Malmö. A short appointment for a special survey at the end of the campaign was accepted by Dr Günther Stanzl, Vienna.

The work of the expedition was greatly facilitated by the efforts of the Swedish Embassy at Tunis, whose participation in its affairs and problems gave it strong and efficient support. The members of the expedition offer their sincere gratitude to the Ambassador, Carl-Henrik Nauckhoff, and his staff. By the intermediation of Professor Carl Nylander, Rome, the team could be reinforced by two architects. His advice and support during a short visit to Carthage stimulated progress in the work. Finally cordial thanks are due to the Tunisian Director-General of Antiquities Monsieur Azedine Beschaouch and to the Director of Antiquities at Carthage Monsieur Abdelmagid Ennabli and their staffs.

Field Report

Birgitta Sander

The work of the 1979 autumn campaign (September 3 to November 4th) was concentrated on uncovering the ruins in the western part of site A, situated on the northern side of the Byrsa Hill. The excavated area measured about 25×30 m (more exactly 720 m^2) and was an extension of what could be seen of the ruins revealed at the end of the spring campaign (see *Medelhavsmuseet Bull.* 14, p. 57).

A co-ordinate system (N-S) connected with the "Système Lambert" was used (the first three figures represent the x co-ordinate and the following three the y co-ordinate).

Following the system used in the previous campaign for the designation of the walls, even Roman numerals were given to the walls parallel to the *decumanus* and odd Roman numerals to walls parallel to the *cardo* and Arabic numerals to each fragment of the same wall. That means that each wall fragment is identified by a combination of Roman and Arabic numerals.

The ruins could simply be described as the eastern part of a large building situated in the northern part of the *insula* bounded by *cardo* I E and *decumanus* I N. Of the north-eastern façade facing *decumanus* I N, nearly 27 m could be uncovered and, of the south-east-

ern façade *cardo* I E, c. 24 m. Both walls continued further, but the excavation area is limited to the NW by a modern villa and to the SW-S-SE by the steep slope of the Byrsa Hill.

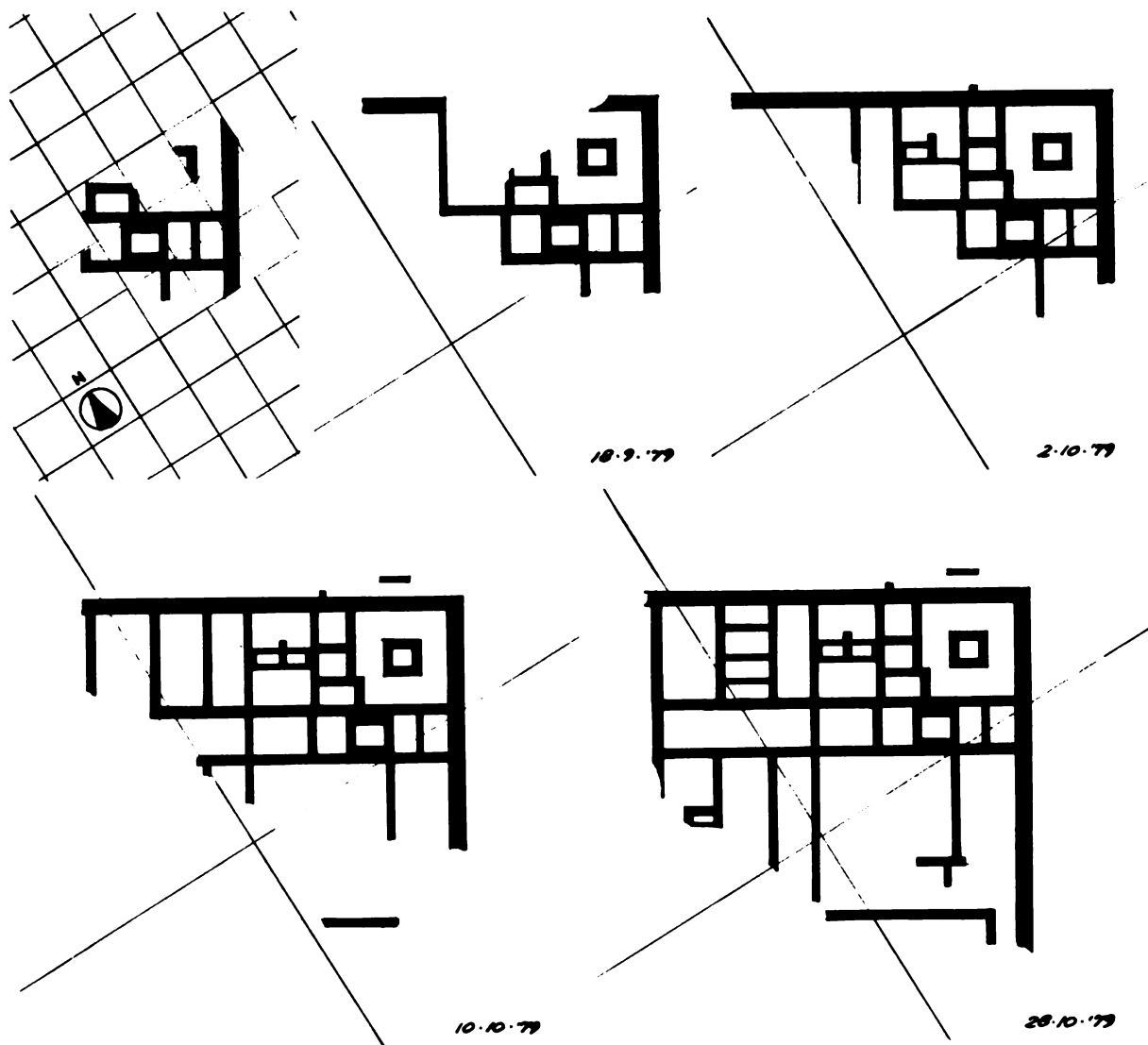
The building may have covered the whole *insula*, that is, from *cardo maximus* to *cardo* I E (120 Roman feet) and the length of the building from *decumanus* I N towards the *decumanus maximus* may have the same measurement, that is, forming a square or *actus*. The building complex consists of several rooms and other limited spaces, each of them designated by a letter combination AA, AB, AC, etc. and in the autumn campaign ending with BD. Several cisterns were found and these were designated C1, C2, C3, etc. (see plan p. 83).

A stone filling and yellow sand, referred to as layer 3, covered the building complex completely down to floor level. The thickness of the filling measured up to 3 m. The stones measured in general 0.05–0.3 m and were intermingled with blocks mainly of sandstone and of different sizes.

The blocks appeared irregularly in almost every room, but the major part and also the biggest were found in the southern part of the excavated area. These blocks, in all probability, originated from destroyed walls, some of them having traces of plaster (even painted plaster) or being worked in other ways. A good many architectural fragments appeared in layer 3, such as a column of granite, two fragmentary columns of marble, three small basins cut out of limestone and a great many fragments of capitals and friezes of marble.

The majority of these architectural fragments are probably not connected with the excavated building but have been washed down with the rest of the stone filling from the Byrsa Hill. This also applies to the pottery, small finds and coins found in layer 3 (see Find report and Pottery report).

The greater part of layer 3 was removed with the aid of machinery; this was justified by the extent and thickness of the layer and the knowledge of the approximate level of the walls. This procedure was, of course, very efficient. Nearly the whole building complex and even the area alongside both façades on the *decumanus* and *cardo* were cleared of filling. That meant that during this campaign layers directly connected with the building were excavated only to a small extent. Facing the *decumanus*, i.e. the northern part of the building, several rooms with different functions were situated. The southern part consisted mainly of a yard, fragmentarily paved with flagstones. Within the



The progress of the excavation. (Sketch by C. Gerner).

building complex, five cisterns and what was apparently a well were discovered during the second campaign. Several channels for fresh water, leading to the different cisterns, were found, especially in the yard area, as well as two drains with forks leading to the street drains of the *cardo* and *decumanus*.

The walls were constructed in the typical *opus africanum* technique. The corner facing *cardo/decumanus* has been robbed and was, in all probability, made of big sandstone blocks. Even the big sandstone blocks in the façade wall facing the *cardo* have been robbed to floor level, but in the façade wall towards the

decumanus one can still see a good many blocks in position up to c. 1.5 m above the approximate street level. The preserved height of the façade measures up to c. 2.6 m in the *cardo* façade and up to c. 3 m in the *decumanus* façade.

Two entrances are situated towards the *cardo*. The smaller one (c. 1 m wide) is situated nearly 10 m from the corner and leads into a room (AB) paved with a mosaic showing plant and animal motifs. Three and a half metres further south is the bigger entrance or gateway (c. 3.4 m wide), which leads into the open yard area. There is also an entrance (c. 1 m wide) leading



The north-eastern part of the building with mosaic AB in the foreground and room AA in the background. View from the SE. (Photograph by P-O. Bohlin).

from the *decumanus* directly into the biggest and most luxurious room (AA). A stair with three steps leads from street level up to the north-western corner of the room. On comparing these entrances, the one situated towards the *decumanus* gives the impression of having been constructed later than the other two. The big corner room (AA) (6.4 × 6.8 m) was paved with marble, of which fragments can be seen along the walls or else negative prints covering the whole floor, except for robbed areas. The walls were plastered and painted. On the wall fragments towards the *cardo*, one can still see a horizontal, red line on the white plaster.

Almost exactly in the middle of the room is a small pool (AG) (c. 1.7 × 1.7 m and 0.65 m deep) surrounded by a 0.65-m-high wall. Pieces of marble on top of the surrounding wall indicate that it was covered with marble. The outside was plastered and, on the inside, fragments of figural mosaics can be seen (on the western wall, fragments of a mosaic showing three naked wo-

men). Alongside the interior of the pool is a shelf, which corresponds to floor level. It has a fragmentary marble cover. From the shelf and down to the robbed marble-covered bottom, the walls are covered with non-figurative mosaics. The corners of the surrounding wall are all incomplete, which suggests that there may have been a column at each corner (to support the roof).

A doorway in the western wall of room AA leads to a space almost equal in size to room AA. This space is not a coherent room but is divided into four small baths (AE, AN, AR) and a hypocaust system (AK, AM, AI).

The floors of the rooms AK and AM are totally destroyed and one has a good view of the pillars or traces of pillars of the hypocaust. The complete pillars are 0.8 m high and are mainly made of tiles (c. 0.2 × 0.2 m) laid on top of each other. (In room AK, the pillars along the walls are made of a combination of cut sandstone and tiles.) In room AM, the pillars are very

fragmentary, but traces on the floor of the hypocaust show a regular pattern of five rows with five pillars in each row. Through the wall that separates room AK from room AM, there is a connection consisting of two openings (c. 0.3×0.4 m). On top of the same wall, almost in the middle, is a large limestone flag (threshold), which indicates both the floor level and the dividing of the rooms. In room AK, all the walls have been affected by fire and in the northern wall, i.e. the façade towards the *decumanus*, are two openings (c. 0.3×0.4 m) leading directly out into the street. This is the place where the hypocaust was heated.

Room AI is difficult to interpret and at the present stage its function is not clear. It communicates with room AM by two ducts (c. 0.3 m wide), probably for hot air, running under the two almost equal baths AN and AR (c. 1.4×1 m). Right under these baths are hypocaust pillars and in the western wall of bath AN and the eastern wall of AR are two vertical and rectangular ducts or chimneys. The baths AN and AR are very fragmentary but are clearly distinguished by the typical rounded corners and the rounded moulding or torus, which forms an intermediate link between the floor and the walls. All that remains of the marble-cov-

The small pool AG in room AA. View from the N. (Photograph by P-O. Bohlin).





The vaulted unit AS in the background and the hypocaust systems AM and AK in the foreground. View from the E. (Photograph by P-O. Bohlin).

ered floor is some small pieces in the corners.

This also applies to the baths AE, though these are not as fragmentary as AN and AR. At first, AE was considered to be just one bath, but two drains in the northern wall and some marks on the bottom indicate that it was divided into two baths. The two small drains open out into a larger drain situated north of unit AE. This drain was once covered, but the cover or floor has now been robbed and on the northern wall of the drain one can see large fragments of a non-figurative mosaic. This mosaic shows that this part was not always covered, and also the walls around indicate different stages of construction. Down to floor level, the filling of the area containing the hypocaust and the baths was the same as in the rest of the building complex. In AK, AM and AI, the filling from floor level and down to the floor of the hypocaust (c. 0.6 m) was soot-coloured and intermingled with pieces of charcoal.

The following limited space towards the west (AS) is

of the same length as the rooms described (c. 6.8 m); the width is 2.6 m. It was vaulted and roofed, rising c. 1.8 m above floor level. There were three arches on the eastern and western sides respectively and one on the southern side. In the northern wall, i.e. the façade facing the *decumanus*, there is an opening or window (c. 0.7 × 0.8 m). The roof, which follows the curve of the arches, had different sorts of cover on top of each other. The most striking one was a mosaic of large white tesserae. Along the edges of the mosaic was a rounded moulding or torus of a similar sort to those in the baths described. The mosaic and the rounded moulding were later totally covered by a 0.1-m-thick layer of mortar intermingled with stones. The vaulted complex was completely filled with yellow sand and stones of the same character as the rest of the ruins (layer 3). Only half of the filling was cleared out of AS during the second campaign. At the present stage, its function is unclear, and any interpretation must be

postponed until further excavation has been carried out.

The space west of AS (c. 6.8×3.2 m) can be divided into four parts (AV, AQ, AX and AY). The one furthest south consists of a geometrical mosaic (c. 3.2×1.1 m) with a pattern of circles and rhombs. Compared with the floor level of the rooms east of AS, the mosaic is situated c. 0.8 m higher. The three parts north of the mosaic most of all resemble a hypocaust system. Hypocaust pillars or traces of them can be seen regularly placed on the floor. These pillars (c. 0.6 m high) are all made of cut sandstone and only a few of them have been slightly affected by fire. The floor level of the presumed hypocaust is not the same in all three parts. Units AX and AQ have the same floor level, but in unit AV it is c. 0.6 m lower. Layer 3 also dominated the

filling in these three units, but c. 0.1 m from the floor level the filling changed. This layer was greyish and soft and was intermingled with a good deal of pottery and bones and also small pieces of charcoal.

Further west in this row of rooms or limited spaces with equal lengths is room AT (width c. 3.8 m), which also forms the north-western corner of the excavated area. During this campaign, only the sand and stone filling referred to as layer 3 was removed from this room, which means that nothing significant was revealed that could lead to an interpretation of the room.

The south-western corner of the excavated area consists of two rooms (AZ and BA) probably of almost equal size (c. 3.6×7.3 m). The significance of these rooms lies in the fact that they were both constructed on top of the roof of two large cisterns (C4 and C5).

Cardo I E. View from the S. (Photograph by P-O. Bohlin).





View of site A from the SE. (Photograph by P-O. Bohlin).

The exact limit of room BA will never be revealed, since the south-western corner of the room is situated so near the slope of the Byrsa Hill and right below a modern villa that further excavation would be dangerous. In the south-eastern part of room BA is the rectangular opening (c. 1.5×0.6 m) to the cistern C4, surrounded by an extremely well-constructed wall (c. 1.15 m high). The surrounding wall is covered by worked limestone flags. Three blocks, forming a stair, are placed in the corner formed by the northern part of the surrounding wall and the eastern wall of room BA. Layer 3 covers the whole room, and even the interior of the cistern is filled with the same material. Directly on the floor is a c. 0.1-m-thick, greyish layer, intermingled with many small fragments of pottery, glass, bones and charcoal. This layer covers the whole floor, except for the north-eastern part, where the floor has been destroyed over an area measuring 1.4×1 m. Nearly the whole floor of room AZ has been destroyed, except for a small part furthest north. This part is covered by the same greyish layer as in room BA to a thickness of c. 0.1 m. The two cisterns (C4 and C5)

right under these rooms seem to be of equal size and construction (c. 2.5×5.7 m). During this second campaign, these cisterns were excavated only so far as to establish that they were both constructed with four arches.

A c. 2.5-m-wide "corridor" (BB) runs between BA-AZ, on the one hand, and AT-AY-AS, on the other. Only layer 3 was removed from this area, which revealed a fragmentary pavement of flags. East of this presumed "corridor" is the unit AP, which is apparently a well (c. 1.7 m diameter) but which was only emptied to a depth of 4 m during the second campaign. The "corridor" also leads out to the yard area (BC), which seems to measure c. 10.5 by 16.5 m. As layer 3 could not be thoroughly cleared out of the yard area during this campaign, it can only be stated that the yard area was paved especially with limestone flags. It was also divided into different sections or parts, but the small wall fragments revealed up to now are not sufficient for any interpretation. A cistern (C1) was found in the south-eastern part of the yard. It was only emptied so far as to enable the vaulted space to be measured (c.

2.5 × 2.5 m). The opening (0.5 m diameter) was fitted with a border of worked limestone in one piece. From the inside of the cistern, one can see the ends of two small channels for fresh water in the northern part of the roof.

Towards the end of the campaign, a sounding was made in the north-western corner of the yard (BC). Right under the pavement, a complicated system of different sorts of channels was found. An extension of the excavation in this area will be necessary before we can fully understand and interpret this system of channels. The sounding was c. 0.5 m deep and the bottom consisted of orange-coloured, sandy clay. Was this untouched soil or just another filling? Further excavation will probably give the answer. North of the yard (BC) and between the unit AP in the west and the mosaic AB in the east are three small units designated AH, AD and AC. Below the floor level of them all runs the main drain (c. 0.6 m wide and c. 0.6 m deep). It continues under the mosaic (AB) and emerges in the *cardo*.

In an opening in the wall separating unit AC from room AA, the entrance to a cistern (C2) situated under room AA was found. It was not excavated, but it seems to be of the same construction as C1. A small opening in the northern wall revealed that a second cistern (C3) is situated just beside C2, which means right under the small pool (AG) in room AA.

A small part of the *cardo* was uncovered during the campaign. In an area delimited by the corner of the building in the north and the small entrance in the south, a fragmentary pavement of mainly limestone flags was found. An edge towards the east formed by carefully laid stones marks a probable width of c. 3.8 m.

As a conclusion from the second campaign, it can be stated that the uncovered ruins all belong to the same building but are from different stages of construction. The above-described rooms and limited spaces facing the *decumanus* give the impression of being a bath of a smaller size. This bath is not as small as a private bath but not as big as a public one. The size suggests a bath made for a group of people (a club or an association).

With regard to the uncovered mosaics and the finds, the building should be dated in the Late Roman/Byzantine period. The aims of the third and last campaign should be to try to interpret the complicated system of channels and discover how the water supply functioned within the building and, if possible, to document the crossing of *cardo* I E and *decumanus* I N.

Find Report

Beate George

The finds made during the second season were very much like those of the first campaign, except that the amount of some groups, as e.g. marble-sculpture fragments, was greater and the fragments were sometimes larger and of better quality. The disturbed character of the layers prevailed also throughout this season; only at the end of it there was reached a stratum with objects which seem to belong to the uncovered structure. These finds are omitted here, as one more campaign is planned, and it seems more reasonable to present this special material together as a whole.

As regards the bulk of the finds of the second season, too, it remains open, whether they belonged to the structure in which they were excavated. Although they cannot be connected with it with certainty, they throw light on the culture of Carthage during an important period. As regards the date, nearly all the objects seem to belong to the Late Roman–Early Byzantine epoch, with the exception perhaps of a few lamp fragments. The coins, when cleaned and identified, may change this picture.

Metals

49 items of metal were collected, mostly iron nails, single or in groups. Further, shapeless lumps of metal were found, and only a small number of objects is clearly recognizable, e.g. a bronze earring consisting of a big loop with a bell attached to it (2042); a small bronze bell (2567); a spindle whorl of bronze (2643).

2567



Coins

186 numbers were registered, many of them several specimens—up to 19 (1969)—found together. Most of them are very small—the average diameter being 1 cm—and in a bad state of preservation. They have been brought to Stockholm for cleaning and, if possible, identification.

Glass

12 numbers are recorded, some of them including several fragments. Most of them belong to very small vessels, sometimes stemcups (2314, 2389). Also one handle was found (2270), an egg-shaped, pierced bead of white colour (1594) and a small stick (2535), perhaps used for cosmetic purposes. Ten tiny fragments were parts of a vessel with cut decoration (2005).

The glass tesserae are mentioned in "Mosaics and tesserae" below.

Bone artefacts

Only two small bone rings (2002, 2181), 1.3 cm in diameter, turned up.

Ceramics

Vaulting tubes. They occurred in such large quantities that only the best-preserved specimens and those of special interest as regarded size (e.g. 2293) and colour were recorded. They amount to about 32 kg. Also some examples baked together and filled with mortar (2217) were saved.

Lamps. 55 numbers are recorded, several of them comprising more than one fragment. Most of them are very small pieces and belong to the Christian types made of red clay and dated in the 4th–6th centuries AD. The two finest fragments, though, form part of the discus of a Roman lamp (2948), showing a seated man playing a lute.

Christian lamps of a different ware and colour are nos 2581 (2 fragments joined together) and 2752:2. In both cases, parts of the bottom, made of light, porous clay, are preserved with a stamped Greek cross in the centre on the outside. An incised herringbone pattern also occurs on the outside of the bottom of a red Christian lamp (2191:2). As decoration of the discus there are found a palm-tree (2215), a hardly identifiable animal (2152), a fish (2652) and most often a cross or the Christ monogram (1975:1, 2131, 2260, 2292, 2451, 2690 resp 1893:1–4). 2152 and 2451 are the only nearly whole lamps.



2948



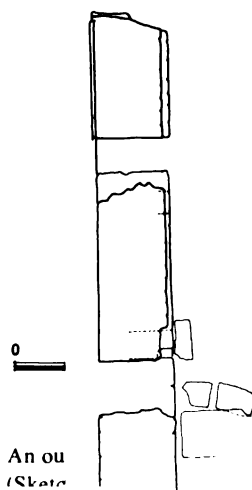
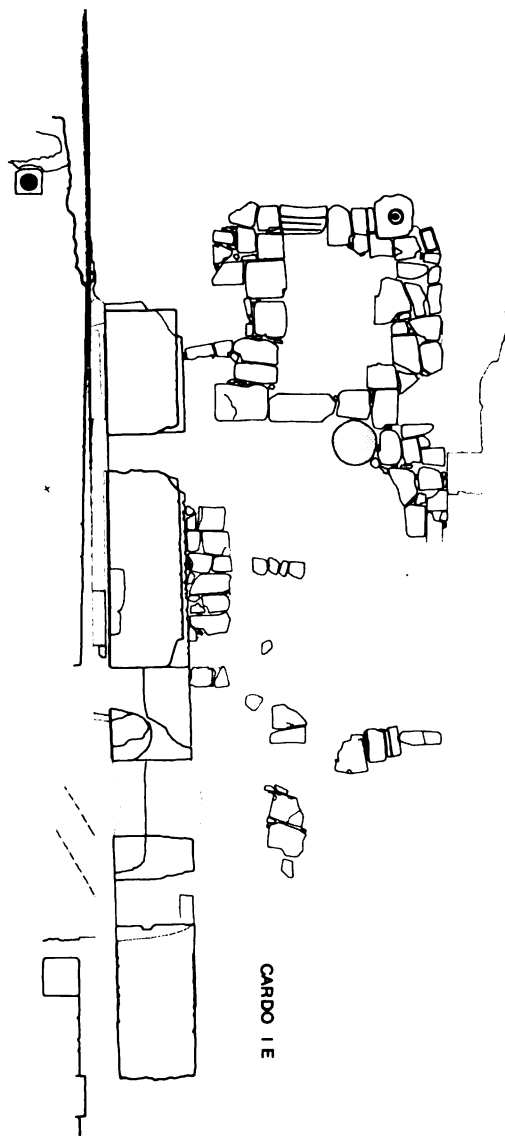
2752:2

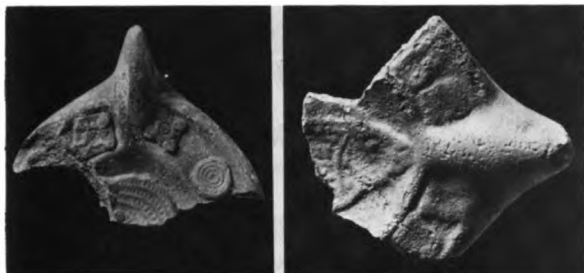


2191:2

2152







2215

2652



1815:1

The repertoire of rim decoration includes an animal in a circle (2824), a fish (1693:1), a bird and a palm tree (1815:1), a palm frond (2825) and a tree (2310:2), besides the more common features as e.g. concentric circles (1815:2; 1838:1; 1893:1-4; 2152; 2160; 2191:1; 2215; 2260; 2292), rosettes (1893:1-4; 1975:7&9; 2004:1; 2020; 2031:1, 3, 5; 2131; 2151; 2152; 2160; 2191:1; 2215; 2292; 2306; 2310:1; 2364:2; 2407; 2451; 2690; 2826:1,2), hearts (1841:1; 1975:10,11; 2031:1; 2131; 2451; 2752:1), etc.

The pre-Christian fragments are—apart from the above-mentioned discus 2948—all very insignificant, consisting mostly only of handles (pierced: 1622; 1975:12; 2297:2; knob: 2031:6). They are too common to indicate any type or age they might belong to.

One tiny rim fragment with part of the central hole made of light clay with black slip, otherwise apparently plain, may be of a Graeco-Hellenistic type (2486).

Miscellaneous objects. Also during this season, the small, round, flat objects were encountered, but only five numbers, including nine specimens, were registered. The diameter varied from 2.1 to 4.5 cm and the thickness from 0.8 to 1.4 cm. Their purpose is open; whether they served as lids, inlays or gaming-pieces cannot be decided.

The two most outstanding finds are a fragment of an apparently bird-shaped vessel with feather decoration in relief (1987: h. 6.1, w. 5.1, th. 2.1 cm) and a headless, hollow statuette of a woman seated in a chair with a small child on her lap (1960: h. 10.5, w. 4.9, th 3.6 cm). She is clad in a long, patterned garment. The very unplastic treatment of both figures is far removed from the style of classical antiquity and suggest a date in Byzantine time.

1987



1960





2190

2828



Furthermore, spindle whorls were registered. 1623 is a little bit more than half its original size, the diameter being 7.9 cm and the thickness 1.7 cm. 1681 is also half, and its diameter is 5.4 and its thickness 1.8 cm. One whole specimen of reused pottery measures only 2.05 cm in diameter and 0.6 in thickness (1974).

A few egg-shaped objects, probably slingstones, were excavated. They were moulded in halves and joined together. 4 1/2 specimens were encountered during this season (2033, 2190: diameter 4.5–4.7 cm, th. 2.5–3.1 cm), all of similar proportions.

Roof tiles were found in abundance, but only the more interesting fragments were registered, e.g. a slightly vaulted piece (1683:1: l. 27, w. 11.5, th. 1.5 cm) and a big corner piece with finger traces on it (1551: 1.23, w. 18.3, th. 3.1 cm). Besides these, there is the delightful group of Byzantine tiles, which often decorated the ceiling and which are themselves ornamented with rosettes (2105:15: 5 × 8 × 2.2 cm; 2604: 16 × 13 × 2.5 cm), lozenges (2192:1: 18 × 14.5 × 3) and other abstract patterns. Also birds (2262; 2291: 13.5 × 12.5 × 2.3 cm) and lions (2603; 2828: 28.5 × 16 × 2.5 cm) are represented.

Stone

Architectural marble fragments. 100 numbers were registered, some of them including several fragments. They belong almost exclusively to columns or roof constructions and are usually of better quality and bigger size than those found during the first season. The material is always white marble. Very common are capital fragments with acanthus leaves (1580, 1583, 1610, 1631, 1679, 1684:2, 1685, 1692, 1787, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2083, 2268, 2565). Leaves of a different kind may also belong to a capital (2651), as do the corner volutes (2067, 2068). Half a capital of a rather small size (2574: h. 10.5, w. 15, th. 8.5 cm) represents a less intricate type with stylized palm fronds. Parts of column shafts (1581, 1582, 1756, 1763, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2082, 2481) were also excavated, as well as column bases (1617, 1632, 1783, 2060, 2061, 2387, 2633, 2637).

Border fragments occur, furthermore, in some cases only profiled (1579) or with simple leaves (1951), with acanthus leaves (2075) and with two rows of decoration consisting of simple leaves and egg-and-tongue lines (2299).

Besides these, heavy, thick blocks and thin slabs with similar decoration were registered, e.g. a block with profiled border and leaf ornament (2076), a block



2066



2448



2574

2651



2067



with a rosette-like flower and an acanthus leaf, each in a rectangular frame (2448), or leaves surrounding a flower (2066), and another one with a simple leafborder around an egg-and-tongue line (2070). The slabs—fragmentary too—have leaves (1788, 2073), egg-and-tongue lines (2071) or both together (2154). A few small fragments of delicately carved braided or “lattice” work must also be mentioned in this context (1672, 2312, 2580, 2748).

Finally, the small marble pieces which served as inlays in the *opus sectile* pavements were found in great quantities; a rare type is 2829.

Special objects. This group of marbles—the colour is always white, too—was especially interesting during the second season, as a great many sculpture fragments were excavated. These pieces are mostly less than life size, and very often they are not completely finished all round but show one rough side, while the rest is finely smoothed and polished. This fact, together with the size of the fragments, suggests that they are part of the decoration of Roman sarcophagi, executed in very high relief with undercuts.

Three human heads were found. 2098 is a very rounded example shown in profile, with parts of the slab to which it is attached preserved. Its dimensions are h. 15, w. 12.5 and th. 9.5 cm. 2304 is a fragmentary male head, measuring in h. 15.5, w. 13 and th. 8 cm. The third head is *en face*, only roughly worked (2482: h. 9.5, w. 7.1 cm).



209R

2538



88



2482

2972





2099:3



2491



2696



2099:1



2970

Four torsos or parts of draped figures are preserved. 2084 is a big fragment—l. 27, w. 24, th. 8 cm—of a still bigger figure, perhaps in relief, draped in a long loosely falling garment. 2538 is part of a probably female figure (15 × 18 × 4.8 cm) clad in a chiton that is swirling around her, executed in high relief on a slab. 2639 represents a fragment of a very small, putto-like naked figure on a block, the height of the figure being 6.5 cm and the block measuring 8.5 × 8.5 × 7.5 cm, and 2972 is a crouching, naked, male figure with the head, parts of the arms and legs missing (h. 16, w. 10 cm). The hole in the back may be intended for fastening this piece onto a slab. A fragment of a similar crouching figure may have been 2638 (h. 5.2, th. 2.7 cm), of which only a hand resting on a bent knee is preserved.

Furthermore, three hands or parts of them were registered. 2099:3 is a hand holding a stick (l. 9.5 cm), as is 2823 (l. 6.5 cm), though more incomplete. 2491 represents three fingers on a larger scale, clinging to an unrecognizable object (9.7 × 8 × 6.4 cm).

Astonishing was the number of legs that were found. All of them are splendidly smoothed, except for the backside, where they may have been attached to a slab. 2099:1 is the upper part of a naked leg down to the knee (l. 19.5 cm), and 2640, which measures 15 cm, is similar. The lower part of a leg is represented by 2153 (l. 16 cm), 2218:1 (l. 15 cm), 2218:2 (l. 13 cm), 2696 (l. 16 cm) and 2753:1–4 (l. 10–13 cm). 2657 is a leg that was attached to another object.

Finally, the toes and part of a left foot on a slab (2492; slab 25 × 9.5 × 12 cm) and a similar part of a right foot on a slab (2970; slab 16.7 × 10.5 × 2.8 cm) were excavated, both perhaps belonging to free-standing sculpture.

Of non-human figures, the most outstanding example is the hind quarters of a bull, standing on a base with a supporting pillar (2931), that was registered at the end of the season. It is made not of marble but of limestone and is 35 cm high, the base being 16 × 16 × 1.5 cm.

Of other animal sculptures, a big lion's paw on a base, carved on both sides, was found (2649: 18.5 × 13 × 6.1 cm); the forepart of perhaps a dog without the head (2691: l. 9.6, h. 10 cm); the mutilated head of an animal, perhaps a feline (2822: l. 6.5, w. 2.5 cm); three antelope's legs (2261: l. 6.5; 2454: l. 8.3; 2539: l. 9.5 cm); and a fragmentary bird (2259: 5.9 × 5.9 cm).

Two parts of trees were registered: 2750 measuring in length 16 and in thickness 5.7 cm and 2694 (l. 10 cm; 2 joined fragments) with a pine cone on it.



2261:1, 2454:1, 2539:1



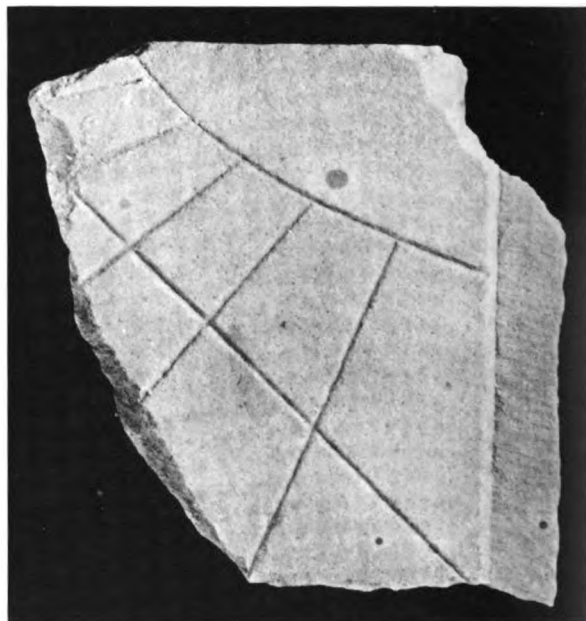
2649

A few, non-sculptural stone objects were recorded, e.g. a fragmentary marble slab with incised lines, which is part of a sun-dial (2647: 21.5 × 18 × 3 cm); a loom-weight (2452: diam. 5.5, th. 2.5 cm) of rather irregular shape, perhaps owing to the material, which is sandstone; and two pestles (2207: 10 × 8 cm; 2441; 9.5 × 5 cm).

Of stone vessels, 13 fragments were found. They belong to very big plates with a rim (1764, 2211, 2369, 2540) and to thick-walled, small bowls, mostly with knob handles (2051 & 2693 joining, 2052, 2053, 2054,

2219, 2605), which may have served as mortars. One fragment (2056) bears a finely sculptured feather decoration.

16 marble fragments with parts of Latin inscriptions were encountered, varying in length from one or a few letters to six lines. Two pieces, apparently the same text, though not joining, mention several male names (2269 & 2578).



2647

2051&2693





2056

Mosaics and tesserae

The most important finds of this category made during the second season were two mosaics *in situ*; four fragments of the second one, AY, were taken to the store-room. Otherwise, 42 numbers were registered, most of them including several small fragments up to 33. Most of these specimens are true mosaics, i.e. small, regular stones of different colours on bedding mortar, interspersed with a few glass or ceramic tesserae. As their state of preservation is very fragmentary, the patterns cannot be clearly determined. On the best examples (2101:1, 15 × 12.5 cm; 2455:1, 13 × 10.5 cm), traces of geometrical decoration are preserved. The colours are black, white, red and pink, and brown, red and pink respectively.

Some very large stone tesserae (2 nos) and re-used ceramic (5 nos) tesserae were excavated, measuring up to 4 × 3.5 × 1.5 cm (1927), and 13 black and golden glass tesserae (2185: 1.9 × 1.8 × 0.4 cm) differed from the rest.

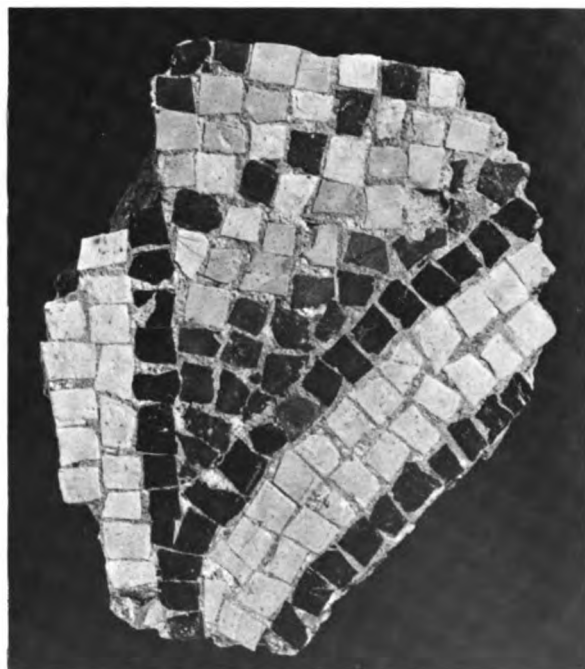
Of the cement pavement or *opus signinum* type, 9 fragments are registered. 1612:1 measures 13 × 8 cm and consists of brownish, irregular stones in mortar. 1760 measures 9 × 7.5 cm and is made of small, white and green stones and reddish-brown ceramic chips in



Fragment of mosaic AY

mortar. Similar examples are 2189:1 (14.5 × 13 cm) & 2, 2313, and 2487:1. 2449 has the special feature of big, white, square tesserae (2 × 2 cm) set into the surface of small, irregular, multicoloured stones.

2101:1





2189:1

Of the *opus figlinum* or ceramic pavement, only two specimens are recorded (2188:1, 13×10 cm, and 2216, 11×9.5 cm). Both consist of large, reddish-brown mosaic tesserae regularly set in mortar.



2188:1

Of the chip-pavement type, too, two examples were found. 1670:1 (14.5×10 cm), has small, green stones densely set, and 1686:1 consists of white and green, irregular stones densely set.

2449



1686:1



Painted plaster

43 numbers were registered, nearly all of them comprising several fragments up to 19. Generally, the specimens are of far better quality than those of the first season, they are bigger, more colourful and richer in pattern.

Predominant is also this time geometrical decoration with dots, curved lines or stripes in different colours. 2300:2 is a small fragment measuring 8×6.5 cm, showing green dots on a white field within red borders. This colour combination occurs also on 2193:1, 2264:1, 2300:1, 2307:1 and 2453. Curved lines are painted in dark green and black on a green background on fragment 2049:4 (8.5×7.5 cm) and in black on a grey strip across a cream field (2184:1: 12×10 cm). Cream, yellow, light-brown and green stripes are found on a green background (2049:3: 11×8 cm). Simple black and red stripes occur on 2049:11 (6×5 cm), red, cream, brown and cream ones on 2214:4 (13×7.5 cm) and yellow, red, black and red ones on 2214:6 (5×4 cm). 2186 (6×5 cm) with red and cream splashes on a buff background, seems to imitate *opus signinum*.

Besides these types, a more naturalistic ornamentation can be discerned. Leaf- and flower-like decoration may be seen on 1810:2 (15×6.5 cm), executed in red on a creamy-rose field. The same colours and a similar pattern are found on 2049:5 (8.5×7 cm) and also on 2485:2 (6.5×3 cm), where the design is in red and

brown on a yellowish-pink field with a green stripe. A special group consists of fragments with rosettes and tendrils in green, white and yellow on a red background, as shown by the finest example 2045 (17×10 cm; also 2214:5, 2509:1, 3). Like letters look the ornaments on 1880:1 (7×6 cm), on which signs in red are painted on a cream field bordering on a green one, and on 2456:2, the red ornaments on white and ochre recall a little bit an abstract representation of a bird (9.5×7 cm).



2049:1

2049:2



2045



The most fascinating fragments, however, are 2049:1 (16 × 11.5 cm) and 2049:2 (11 × 9 cm), both painted with parts of human bodies. On 2049:1 is shown on a dark green field a human arm with a long blue sleeve with white highlights and a hand in cream and light-brown with red outlines, holding on to something which is painted cream with green shadows and which may be a human leg. A human leg bent at the knee may be represented on 2049:2, too, if it is not an arm bent at the elbow. It is painted in cream with green shadows and red outlines in a green field of varying darkness, across which runs a white stripe. The plastic modelling with the help of light and shade is quite exceptional in both cases, which stand apart from all other fragments of this group.

Bone

Bones were found in great quantities; they await the specialist to be examined and classified.

Pottery Report

Marie-Louise Blennow

The pottery of the second campaign shows the same characteristics as that of the first with material from the Punic amphoras of the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. to the Late Fabrics of the 7th century A.D.

Most of the Campana Ware sherds found were unprofiled. However, they include a fine rim fragment (2473:1) with a glossy, black surface. 1602:3 is probably the base of a local, Campana-inspired bowl with brownish slip that does not cover the vessel completely.

Three rim sherds of Terra Sigillata were collected. 2178:4 and 2354:1 are plain, while 1864 is a bowl with a flange, rouletting and relief decoration on the outside.

Among the early African Red Slip (ARS) sherds may be mentioned 2334:1, the rim of a 1st-century bowl with decoration of barbotine leaves. 1837:1 and 2836:8 are specimens of the 2nd-century bowls with convex moulding on the outside below the rim, decorated with rouletting. 2221:2 and 1920:7 are necks of 3rd-century flasks.

1821:1, 2027:3,4,7 and 2587:1 are rims of flanged ARS bowls of the late 5th or early 6th centuries. The bowls with scalloped rims dating from the first half of the 6th century are represented by 2438:6. Several



2473:1 Rim fragment of a Campana Ware vessel



1602:3 Base fragment of a local, Campana-inspired vessel



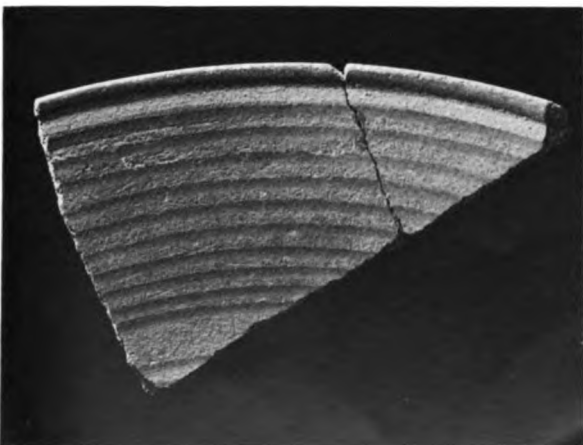
2334:1 ARS rim with barbotine decoration



2027:3 Fragment of a flanged ARS bowl



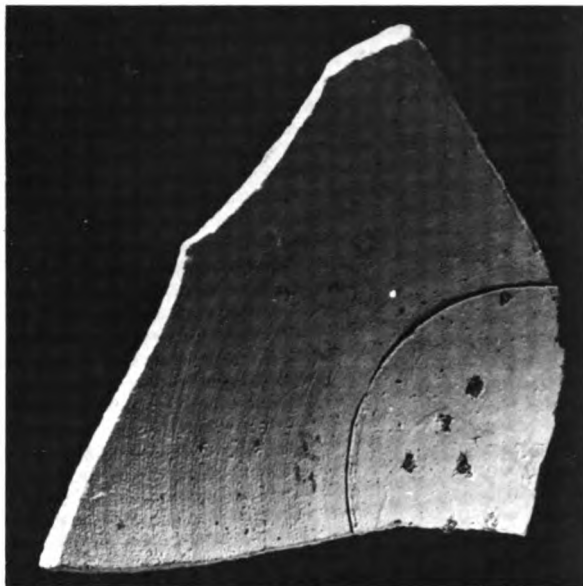
2438:6 Fragment of an ARS bowl with scalloped rim



2551:4 Shallow dish with line burnishing

fragments of the 6th- or 7th-century type of shallow dish with line burnishing on the inside were found (2201:7 and 2551:4).

Among the sherds without complete profiles may be mentioned two floor fragments of mortaria gritted on the inner surface (2324:7 and 2438:4). 1646:1, 2008:9 and 2334:2 bear feather rouletting on the inside.



2438:4 Floor fragment of ARS mortarium



2334:2 Inside of an ARS vessel with feather rouletting

2008:10 is a flat floor fragment with stamped decoration of palm branches and concentric circles. The shallow bowl or dish 2721:1, 3, bears on the inside a stamped decoration of peacocks, palm branches and rosettes in squares.



2008:10 Floor sherd with stamped decoration



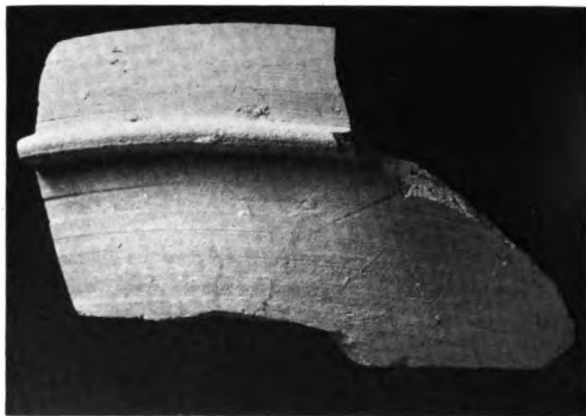
2721:1,3 Stamped inside of an ARS bowl

There are innumerable fragments of the Black-Top Ware of the 1st to the 4th centuries A.D., as well as of its successor, the Late Fabrics. Many of them are lids (1563:4, 1604:2, 1869:2, 1957, 1984:2, 2834:2 and 2110:1). Quite a few casseroles were found (2623:1, 2738:1 and 2852:4). 1836:3, 1852:8 and 1873:6, 8, 9 are fragments of late 6th-century, coarse gritted bowls.

Both the hard, pinkish- or brownish-buff and the soft, yellowish-buff types of 5th- and 6th-century flanged bowls were found (1575:12, 17, 1978:1, 2222:1, 2, 3, 2278:1, 2288:3, 2417:1 and 2582:1).



1957 Cooking Ware lid



2417:1 Fragment of a flanged bowl

Some sherds which may belong to the Late Painted Wares were collected (1704, 2236:1, 2333:1, 2350:1, 2617:1, 2619:1 and 2659:1). They are buff with purplish-brown decoration. There are also some fragments of brownish-orange ware with white, painted, linear decoration (1899:1).



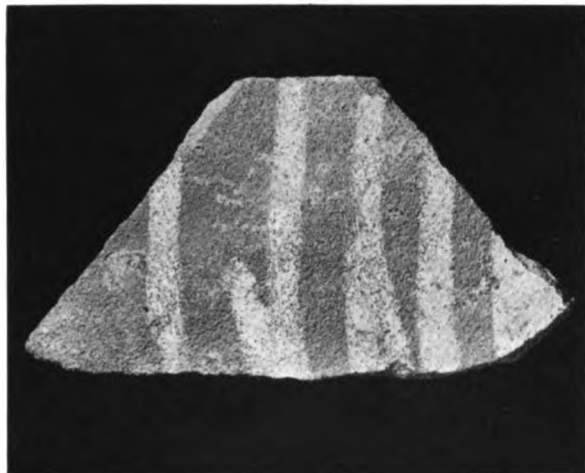
2236:1 Buff sherd with purplish painted decoration



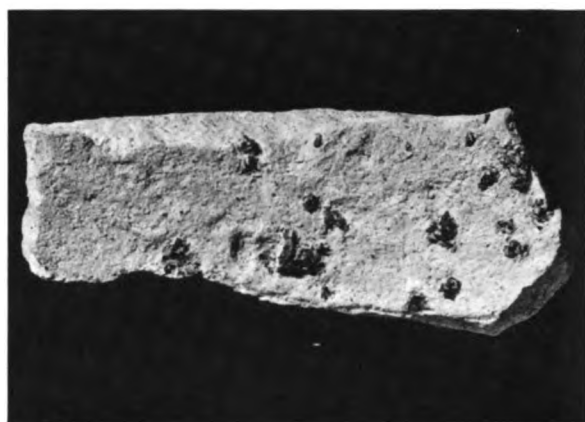
2659:1 Fragment of a buff vessel with painted fish



2198:3 Wall- and bottom fragment of a vessel with incision



1899:1 Orange sherd with white painted decoration



2343:3 Coarse brown mortarium sherd

Three fragments of the same buff fabric and the same sign ψ incised were found (1577:3, 2112:4 and 2198:3).

Besides the ARS and unslipped, pinkish, flanged-bowl mortaria, a coarse, brown fragment with brown grits was also found (2343:3).

Among the vast amphora material may be mentioned the brown, micaceous Ballana 13. Other amphora types remain to be studied, as well as the buff and orange wares and the thin-walled pottery.

For all photographs of finds and pottery credit is given to Per-Olof Bohlin.

Activities 1979–1980

Carl-Gustaf Styrenius

During the period July 1st, 1979, to June 30th, 1980, big steps forward were taken in the preparations for the new premises for the Medelhavsmuseet, the most important of which was made on September 6th, 1979, when the government decided to reserve 2.9 million crowns for the National Board of Public Building to plan the new premises in detail. This work, which will be finished at the beginning of 1981, is the second stage in the long preparatory work for constructing or repairing a state building, the third and last being the building work itself. In the meantime, the Museum staff has been working on the plans for the permanent exhibitions of the new Museum.

Several important antiquities were acquired by the Egyptian Department. One was a mummy coffin dating from c. 600 B.C. for a private person called Hapi-men. It is exceptionally well preserved. It is covered by polychrome painting with figural scenes and inscriptions. The coffin was received as a gift from Ambassador Adolf Croneborg. From about the same period is a wooden statuette of a standing man. This is of special importance, as it is a particularly good example of archaizing style of a late phase of Egyptian art. Also from the same period are a number of very fine bronzes representing the god Imhotep, a holy ichneumon, the goddess Isis and the god Harpocrates. The two last-mentioned items are a gift from the estate of the late Mr. Sven Gustafsson. The Department received in exchange from the British Museum a granite sculpture of the goddess Sekhmet, belonging to the Theban group of the New Kingdom.

The Islamic collections of the Museum, administered by the Egyptian Department, were enriched by several artefacts, among them a collection of Persian textiles, mostly Safavid. Some items of Persian pottery may also be mentioned.

The Graeco-Roman Department has received or acquired some important objects. Among Greek acquisitions may be mentioned an Attic Black-Figure lip-cup with inscription and a probably Hellenistic marble torso of Aphrodite in a small size, perhaps from Alexandria.

Among the Roman acquisitions, an excellent, Etruscan, terracotta head dating from the end of the 6th century B.C. should be mentioned. Moreover, a marble head from the Republican period in an exceptionally small size, a bronze head from about the same time in somewhat less than natural size and a male torso in natural size, dating from the beginning of the Imperial period with a folded cloth hanging down from the left shoulder.

The exhibition activities continued. The Graeco-Roman Department, in collaboration with the Museum of National Antiquities (Historiska Museet), showed during the period September 25th, 1979, to January 2nd, 1980, an exhibition entitled "The Gold from the Steppe" from the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad. It consisted of objects of Scythian art from the area around the Black Sea, as well as objects of leather and textile fabrics from the frozen tombs at Altai in southern Siberia. More than 100,000 visitors came to see the exhibition, which was a record.

The Egyptian Department in collaboration with the National Museum, mounted during the period January 17th to February 24th, 1980, an exhibition entitled "Baltzar Cronstrand in Egypt 1836–1837: A Swedish Officer amidst Pharaonic Temples and Tombs". This illustrated the scientific results presented by Dr Bengt Peterson and Dr Beate George in *Medelhavsmuseet Memoir* 3 last year.

Preparations have also been made for two forthcoming exhibitions, "The Golden Paradise of the Thra-



Minoan house, Chania, Crete. Photo E. Hallager.

cians" from Bulgaria and "Finds from Sardinia, 4000–500 B.C."

As before, the excavations at Chania on Crete were administered by the Graeco-Roman Department and continued during the summer of 1980.

In 1979, the Medelhavsmuseet started excavations at Carthage, as part of the UNESCO programme to save the ancient city. The first excavation campaign went on during the period April–June 1979. The ground where the excavations took place was situated along Avenue de la République at the foot of the Byrsa Hill and was owned by a private person, who wanted to build a house on the site as soon as possible. In order to facilitate this, the Medelhavsmuseet carried out a second campaign during September and October 1979. In these excavations, Late Roman ruins of such importance appeared that a third campaign became necessary. Moreover, it was clear that a considerable part of the ruins ought to be preserved. The third and

last campaign took place during March and April 1980. Thus, the whole excavation was carried out in six months within a period of one year.

From the staff of the Medelhavsmuseet, Miss Birgitta Sander served as field director during the whole excavation. Moreover, Mrs Marie-Louise Blennow took part in all three campaigns, while Dr Bengt Peterson and Dr Beate George took part in two campaigns. I myself as leader of the project, made six journeys to Carthage, sometimes exclusively for negotiations with the Tunisian authorities, and spent more than two months in Tunisia. Ten excavators and forty Tunisian workmen, in all, took part in the excavation.

During the year, *Bulletin 14, 1979*, was published. It contained scientific articles on objects in the collections of the Museum, as well as the preliminary report of the first campaign of the Carthage excavations. The second report is included in the present volume.

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